

## Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1952

- 01\_06 Letter to Barry Brent, Vancouver, re: re-establishing our personal relationship; an apology from RD; on RD's resignation as national secretary (rather than a fade away); no political grounds for RD's resignation; the new alternating business and educational meetings in Toronto; no news from Vancouver; the walk home during the TTC strike
- 01\_06B Letter-postscript to earlier letter to Barry Brent, re: after consulting with Jean-(Marie Bédard), we should leave the changes you have made to the document
- 01\_07 Letter to Barry Brent, Vancouver, re: his good work on the political resolution; discussion on the changes; it is ready for acceptance
- 01\_30 Letter to Barry Brent, re: Paddy back in the movement but acting up; RD's long reply to Reg (Bullock, *not in these files*); a report on Reg's admonitions; BC sending trial forces into the CCF; progress in Trail; on dealing with the Rose minority in Toronto; Hugh active in UAW; RD's *LC* sub renewal work, meeting CCFers
- 03\_02 Letter to Barry Brent, re: the death of RD's mother; BC doubt over our CCF entry; articles in the last issue of *LC* and problems with writers; no contact with the Vancouver branch and getting Bill or Reg to take over correspondence; the unilateral dissolution of the Vancouver branch; the CCF electoral defeat; praise from SWPer George (Novack?) on CCF orientation document; miscellaneous party matters; BC branch weaknesses; details of the debates in Toronto and Vancouver; Murray and union work in Toronto; the CCF on NATO; Paddy in the CCF (8 pp)
- 03\_12 Letter to Ruth Bullock, Vancouver, re: *LC* sub drive matters, considering the correctness of our CCF orientation; the favourable situation in BC
- 03\_99 (*Undated document found in March*); ***A statement of the dissolution of the Revolutionary Workers Party***; an extension of our CCF orientation of an entry into the CCF; an outline of the history of our tendency; the decision taken at the 1951 2nd convention of the RWP; the vindication of our assessment of the CCF as the Canadian labor party; the CCF is not a traditional organization of the Canadian workers; mass pressure will form broad leftist tendencies within the CCF; no viable left wing however within the CCF at present; our aim to sink roots in the CCF; not assimilation but integration; build the party (CCF) now; the loss of our press is temporary; an assessment of Stalinism in Canada today; current problems around promoting our program now
- 04\_03 Letter to Don (D.), Windsor, re: late with the next issue of *LC*; illness

among the comrades; an eye specialist in Toronto for Don; comrades' activities; Hugh refused CCF membership

- 04\_07 Letter to Barry Brent, Vancouver, re: announcing the dissolution of the RWP; minority opposition to it; working on *Labor Challenge*
- 04\_22 Letter to Bill (W.), Vancouver, re: books accounts; new books available; sending bound volumes of *LC*
- 04\_23 Letter to Bill (W.), Britannia Beach, re: setting up the bookstore; CCF work in BC centres; RD's experience in the CCYM; Barry's Vancouver address
- 04\_30 Letter to Barry Brent, Vancouver, re: news coverage of the RWL dissolution; a new name for *LC*? Getting us into the CCF; a possible price dropping *LC*; a left wing in the CCF not desirable at present; McLeod and LPPers in the CCF; Barry's personal expressions; Barry's and RD's future personal plans; *Addendum*: making plans to cease publication *LC*
- 05\_02 Letter to Bill (W.), Vancouver, re: book accounts and BC pledges; BC CCF activities
- 05\_07 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Windsor, re: moving out of the family house; selling the furniture; the old man's problems; next *LC* will be delayed
- 05\_14 Letter to Barry Brent, Vancouver, re: RD urges him to return to Toronto; his lack of desire to be a professional; the problem of building a cadre; Barry's personal situation ("this girl")
- 05\_18 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: RD's getting into the CCF; CCF work; a movement movie night social, RCMP catches up to Murray
- 05\_25 Letter to Barry Brent, Vancouver, re: Tension In the CCF over RD's membership; his outside CCF membership work; possibly no CCF objection to *Labor Challenge* continuing as a counter-weight to the LPP; evaluating McLeod and the Stalinists; defence of the Soviet Union does not mean silence on the crimes of Stalinism; Joe Rose on the move in the Toronto minority
- 06\_08 Letter to George (Novack), or the editor of *The Militant* (SWP, New York), re: decision to end publishing of *Labor Challenge*, submitting articles for *The Militant*; suggest a weekly column on Canada;
- 06\_09 Letter to the Gang, Windsor, re: Our trip delayed; end of the RWP and *LC* not "the finish of the movement in Canada" but a new beginning; the bookstore and classes remain; getting our comrades into the CCF; industrial CCF clubs get green light; our isolation ending

- 06\_19 Letter to Bill (W.), Britannia Beach, re: big CCF election gains in BC; batch of LC sub renewals received (but paper discontinued)
- 06\_25 Letter to Spencer, Vancouver, re: the lack of correspondence with the centre; internal bulletins distributed; the BC CCF faced with taking power
- 06\_25B Letter to Barry Brent, Reg Bullock and Bill (W.), Vancouver, re: looking for BC reports; the critical silence of the Trail branch; CCF work in Ontario and our membership applications; RD active in Temple's club
- 07\_25 Letter to Joan and Don (D., Windsor), re: comrades moving out to jobs
- 07\_25B Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: books and novels sent; analyzing the CCF vote in BC and Stalinist ranks support; Toronto CCF work
- 07\_30 Letter to Steve, Vancouver, re: his continued silence from Trail
- 08\_01 Letter to J.W. Beattie, North Vancouver, re: books sought and books available, both classics and SWP titles
- 08\_01B Letter to Hardy, Vancouver, re: the BC transferable vote breakdown; the upcoming CCF convention
- 08\_22 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: his correspondence with Windsor; younger brother Jerry in town; Murray and RD in the CCF; RD prompts T.C. Douglas on his anti-war speech
- 09\_08 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: expecting a report of his meeting with unionist Steve from Trail; Murray working in a UAW shop
- 09\_09 Letter to Court, Vancouver, re: donations received for fund drive and SWP; no room for CCF convention article in *The Militant*
- 10\_07 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: the defection of Steve in Trail and Reg's note to him
- 11\_03 Letter to Lilliam (W.), Vancouver, re: a Vancouver comrade returning home; looking forward to some news from BC
- 11\_05 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: news of the Dowson family; RD's lifestyle; looking for a tape recorder; Barry (B.) back in Toronto; Schactmanites flirting with the Fellowship in BC
- 11\_06 Letter to Don (D., Windsor), re: Barry Brent back in Ontario and raided Buffalo for a wife; RD active in a left CCF club; local UAW developments and the BLP

- 11\_12 Letter to Bill (W.), Britannia Beach, BC, re: the CCF in BC, our attempts to integrate in Ontario where RD is active and a committee rep despite not having membership
- 12\_12 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: received no Vancouver minutes or response to our circular letters; selling party literature; our Ontario CCF work and street-corner petitions
- 12\_17 Letter to Lillian (W.), Vancouver, re: their new arrival; selling the Pablo (international) pamphlet; Murray active in Toronto UAW local
- 12\_18 Letter to Bill (W.), Britannia Beach, BC, re: CCF contacts in Squamish, our work in the Ontario CCF; the national health petition
- 12\_19 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: sending books for Christmas; received his newspaper clippings; unprofessional behaviour in the party



Sunday Jan 5, 1951

Brent (view)  
My Dear Barry;

Do I detect a bit of alarm in your last two letters. You know me, when I cease to be a revolutionist I will be no more. You should know that all these feelings, the dis-ease, flow from my feeling that between you and I there should be nothing hidden, that our relationship should be of a character that will be commonplace only when man reaches communism.

Let's write off my "crisis" letter to you and Murray and your reply. Since you protest my feeling that you raised the old whipping-boy the Dowson personality I have no right to insist that you did. You would be the very last person to whom I would attribute any hostile motives. I know that you are full of good will to me, as full as I am too you. I am not much a psychology but I am of the opinion that attitude is only an extension into life of the personality. Organizational orientation—well that is something new, something I was not aware until the moment of reading your letter that we had any difference on. Sometime when you return you will have to elucidate. But let us call this part of the discussion off. I am prepared to say that my letter was a mistake...until we meet again.

I suppose you received my letter to Steve. Does it fit the bill. I think so but we will soon hear from him and know. It's the truth but of course not all the truth. Of course Joe (we should now say BS) and his antics aren't the reason for my resignation as Steve assumed. They make my life a little unpleasant but they are such nothings when you get down to it.

I don't think you should worry too much about the resignation and its possible effects on the party. In your writing—thinking in the last letter you say that if I were to impute lack of confidence to you comrades out there you would of course deny it, the same holding true for the Toronto branch if I were to give as my reason that it showed lack of confidence in me. Of course I have no interest in blaming anyone or anything for my actions. I am alone responsible for them.

I don't think there is going to be any reaction in the party. Who is in a position to react. Three of you out there were going to suggest what in effect is the same thing. Whitney I think will have no objections for surely he too knows of your proposed change. At anyrate I am enclosing a letter that he sent to Joe and I—Joe and I equally. He has little grounds. Angus I know will say nothing. The PC has agreed. Toronto branch will have nothing to say.

At anyrate I am not too clear how a fade-out temporary or otherwise, would look so much different from a resignation to Steve or anyone else for that matter. Everyone knows that Ross has been the object of a big scale campaign. The same feeling, or approximately the same feeling anyway would have arisen if we had carried out your proposal that I should fade-away. ~~AND YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN THE ONLY ONE TO RECALL ONCE WHEN WE WERE TALKING ABOUT ME MAKING WAY FOR MURRAY YOU SAID WE COULDN'T DO IT FOR IT WOULD LOOK LIKE A VICTORY TO JOE.~~ You ask me Barry how am I going to answer enquiries as to why I resigned. I might ask you how were you comrades going to answer enquiries as to why we carried out your proposed shift over. I am prepared to answer with the very reasons that you give; to ease the strain off Ross who has been on a tough job for so long, to give ~~him~~ a chance to develop and even another one you give in another letter, it might have a salutary effect on the Toronto branch

I am not at all sure that a resignation is a political act and a political act alone. ~~Whether~~ if it were so then of course I would have on grounds for my act...for there are no political ones. But of course contrary to what you say there is an immediate change in personnel occurring. When Murray arrives here and gets settled down with a job I intend to cease writing the minutes of the PC or any of the official party correspondence. Of course if necessary I will ghost write on Murray's behalf. When you arrive I hope that we can agree that I should leave Toronto. ~~Tomorrow~~ Of course you and Murray must take over. I am surprised that you say that you "really don't know." I wish to go to Windsor as the three of you planned and surely you don't think Murray can handle this job himself. You must know that there is more than ever with the bookstore. Once we get it really going I figure that it will take at least half a day of someone's time. Surely you must have been a key man in your own plans as to how we should handle things. At anyrate I consider you to be ~~in~~ and in effect we are carrying out your plan. I see no reason when you return why you should live with your folks. I am quite positive Murray is going to go into industry. You will go on the payroll—which can now handle \$20. We will make some arrangement to support you even better than in the style to which you are accustomed. You could possibly live with Jean and Lois. When I start to work wherever I do in Windsor I don't intend to live in any higher style than I am now...and certainly no higher than you. I will send in plenty of money.

The switch in my opinion has to be looked upon as a more permanent one than you appear to have looked upon it. I do not see how going to Windsor can be properly posed as a temporary move. Either we are going to colonize Windsor or we are not. The branch has to be built almost from scratch and it is of course a long and patient task. Now a person living and working in Windsor could be national secretary of the party in anyway shape or form I do not quite understand. If it is at all necessary in your mind ~~to resign and go to Windsor~~ or advisable in my mind to make a change I think it has to be carried out in the real spirit of a change.

Let us not bother about wangling over the last episode, the PC, the party builder and the fraction votes. Life is moving fast here. At next week's meeting the Toronto branch will decide to completely ditch its past educational procedures and hold an educational every other week, the other week's meeting being a business meeting. I don't see what more can be profitably said about that past experience. We are turning the same arguments back on one another—one of the reasons we wanted to go to the bulletin was to put the discussion on a sane basis, not he said, I feel this and that and I see you think that the bulletin would have done just that. In the discussion the other night when we took the vote Bill made the bulk of his speech the executive's contribution to the bulletin. It was the most unclear attack on Bolshevism that I have yet heard. The branch passed the motions on the basis that "tactics are the property of the fractions and nobody elses...." "decisions belong only to those who have to carry them out." Various comments such as "persons who didn't have even the slightest idea what a union hall looked like voted on union questions....the comrades involved did not have the final say....where everybody voted in the branch we have had only bad experiences..to my surprise we learned that Jimmy Brennan didn't leave us to take up boxing but because he was disgusted with the tactics Joe had to follow in pacifinghouse, tactics dictated by the branch....etc, etc.

I hope you don't think that anyone thought you sent the minutes out to the various NC members for any other purpose than to help develop the N.C. But don't you think anyway that there is considerable possibility that it can lead to more confusion than clarity.

I know you must be a bit impatient for the why and the wherefore of my RESIGNATION. but I am going to ask you Barry to let it ride. It is a rather long and tortuous and tortured affair. Since it is not going to be required that we make it public property I don't think we really need to go into it. I have as you know no compunction about

telling you all, going into my innermost feelings about the past period but it has been a very painful one for me and I feel that there is nothing to be gained. As you know I am a very sensitive person, probably oversensitive, I hate introspection. I think it can only be of a sort of clinical interest. Will you bear with me. Sometime when we are over swimming at the Island we can talk about it. To explain it by letter would only lead to a long soul searching probably profitless correspondence.

I really must get this letter away. Haven't even started on the paper. Are you going to be able to send in anything. We must have all copy in by this coming Monday morning or Tuesday at the latest.

Received your exam present. Haven't had a chance to check the changes into my copy. They appear to be nothing though. I am really breathless to know what our old minority is going to do. If they are smart they will do nothing for in Toronto they are carrying their line on everything and they must know they will get no where elsewhere. But maybe they aren't smart. They've been taken for a ride but we may get some big bucks from them.

But as I was saying I must leave as I have to walk home and it takes exactly one hour to do it. But before I do I wish you would devise some way of getting the branch secretary into operation again, sending copies of the minutes to the N.O. The National Office must have some kind of connection with Vancouver when you are gone. I see there was no way of getting out of being branch organizer but I think it is nonetheless has some unfortunate aspects. When you leave we have to be sure that there is no vacuum. Either we must have a copy of the minutes which is no trouble at all if the secretary has a typewriter or we must have someone send in a formal once a month report. Reg hasn't dropped us a line since a month before the convention. We have little or no idea what is happening in Vancouver. For instance you raised the matter of the big protest developing in B.C. over the draft. But we did n't know anything about the reaction of the clubs until we got a copy of the CCF NEWS the next week which contained a couple of club reports.

Remember that Wes McCullough who came down to the office somewhere back with Myrtle Morrison. He has sent us in a couple of letters and he appears to be coming very close to us. Hugh is pulling off a big distribution of the last issue at a coming Ford local meeting. Of course you got the news from my letter about the splendid development in Trail. Steve seems a little upset that both Lefevre and his fellow Harvey want to stay in the CCF but this may well set him off into doing some serious CCF work again. Ken when on his holidays in Montreal met through his brother what he considers an excellent contact. He is putting Murray in touch with him along with another name—of someone who wrote in for the paper.

But as I was saying the TTC strike is going strong and I must walk home. Would you like me to send you my copy of the Bonding Cross—a terrific job. I have been reading it on the street car. How are you fixed for dough—are you working. Haven't received any B.C. Lumberworkers. We could very well do with a list of CCFers for mailing purposes. Could we really get started working on such a project.. But as I said before—

the very best Barry

Ross

The port wines are the sweet ones...but don't get drunk on them—you will either become slobbery drunk or rip-roaring wild screaming drunk...in either case a disgrace to us—try Manhattan's

Monday Jan 6, 1952 ✓

Brent (VAN)

Dear Barry—a postscript to the letter I mailed about ten hours ago. On the way home last night I dropped in on Jean. He had inserted the corrections Reg and you made to the Political Resolution. You will of course ditch that paragraph in my letter concerning my snap opinion on the extent of the changes and the probable reaction of comrades in the Toronto branch. For some while I have been concerned how we would meet the situation if the changes didn't give what they are looking for. After going through the changes I see that we will have no concern over this—not of course that the changes meet the old minority position but they give plenty of room to satisfy them I am sure. There is no doubt that this is all for the best. I have no basis for complaint—I agreed with the proposal that the resolution should be ~~handled~~ handled the way the convention handled it. At the coming PC meeting I intend to move a motion that the PC ~~may or may not concur~~ that the submitted changes are completely in the spirit of the convention decision.

all the best

Ross

January 7, 1951

Dear Barry

(Brent) *can*  
in order to be less of a fool than yesterday

Here I go again, making a bit of a fool of myself but I want you to know that I think you did a good job of the changes in the political resolution. Tonight I had to come home and give a bit of a hand with some of the work around the house...have just finished ironing six or seven shirts. And now I have just finished putting in your and Reg's corrections into my copy..in the process studying closely the whole thing.

I see after rereading Reg's contribution to the convention discussion, refreshing myself so to speak, that my opposition to it was not so much the concrete changes proposed as the later half on the unions and the CCF..pages 3, 4, and 5 of his document. Most of the changes of themselves are merely a matter of style. These changes I do not think are an improvement on your style but if such a comrade as Reg wishes them you are absolutely correct in making them.

*Two*  
There are really only two changes of importance in my opinion --paragraphs 62 and 92. I am glad you were able to convince Reg to keep paragraph 92 and I think you did an excellent job in changing it...really a purposeful amplification. The changes in paragraph 62 I tend to disagree with. I agree that there may well be no need to be so positive but I don't see just what the change does--if the *character* is well established and there is little doubt. Probably my first more strenuous objection to this change flowed not so much from it itself but from seeing it through pages 3 4 and 5 of the document. In so far as the change in itself doesn't mean anything in relation to our work I would concur in it also.

The change at the top of page 10--wouldn't it have been even a little more precise to have said --at the time the workers are being driven to to seek more radical solutions to their problems. It is true ~~that~~ as Reg says that they are not joining the CCF and to some extent not turning to it which is again different. Immediately they are not even more receptive to radical solutions---but they are being driven in that direction.

*What do you think the procedure should be with this. I hope you may indicate*  
I wonder if really the PC is empowered to make any further changes. The PC has widely different viewpoints or perhaps I should say had anyway. Some might consider that it involves encroaching on the convention. There is something to be said for accepting them as the final word

warmest regards

Ross



January 30th 1952

Dear Barry!

Brent (in Vancouver)

Here it is Thursday and I had intended to get this off by Monday wasn't it. Well there have been all kinds of diversions. Paddy has been around a great deal and no matter how you shush him he continually bursts in. Ken Dick and he eat here almost every night and sometimes he comes in as early as 3 o'clock to get to work on a stew. One good thing of course is that I have got him back into the party. It was a long and wearing job. One of his big excuses is that Hugh and Joe appear to have called him a renegade to his face. Hugh happened to be here one day and I had him apologize to Paddy. Of course this is to some extent merely an excuse. I think he has some considerable doubts about the maturity of the branch and has an unwillingness to submit to its decisions. However I put the heat on him in the past while and he will be attending the next meeting. Then there was Doug yesterday. He spent about 2 1/2 hours here talking over the problems in the new hydro plant which the AFL is trying to organize with his help. Also had a long talk about the CCF. I don't know whether we are making progress with him or not. His conduct during the election campaign was really disgraceful. He challenged Jolliffe at his nomination speech on the question of the war and when asked to do a little work in the campaign to told them to go to hell. But I think I finally convinced him to take out his card again and get back in. Strange to say some CCF activists in the area came around to see him and get his membership renewal although ~~he~~ were moves to expell him a couple of months ago. Then last night there was Gordon who hadn't been around for about three months. He is back at Margarets on sufferance and is working at his old job...drinking heavy. After about 2 1/2 hours with him I think he will take a CCF membership card out and next time he is around I feel we should be able to get him back into the party. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

at the Toronto Branch as a collective entity and the opposing factions as collective groups.\*

salted it a bit as you suggested

What bloody presumption, pomposity. Jean wanted me to really tear into him but I think I made a restrained reply. No doubt you will hear about it. If you do I hope you will be able to restrain from showing any knowledge of his letter—if he makes much of it ask to see the copy of his letter to me and then you can talk it over.

There are a couple of much more important items in the letter which I would like to comment on. He says that from your minutes out there I will have gathered that "we are sending trial forces into the CCF but at present there is little substance to its political shadow." I don't want to go off the beam here but do I feel a resistance to our orientation here? Of course you really know where he stands now but I know nothing since he wrote that latter pages in his contribution to the convention. Are we still arguing whether the CCF is or isn't there? What does trial forces mean, are these forces not going in to stay and to build? I seem to recall that in one of your letters yes a letter dated Dec 30th. In talking about some Dick and Court going in you say "Bill is too tied up with his tough job and Reg—I will write you his stand with which I heartily agree in my next letter." Your next letter overlooks this matter.

I am sure you agree that if there was ever a time that was made for our entry in B.C. it is the situation that is shaping up right now...the smash up of the coalition and the line-up of forces for the coming election. In a matter of a few months we could really integrate ourselves, build proletarian clubs. Probably we are talking about whether we need to leave anyone on the outside to distribute Labor Challenge and who it should be.

He also mentions in passing that another debate is in the making with the SP of C gang. Now go easy on me Barry but I don't think we should be doing this stuff. I felt uneasy about the last debate but I more or less ~~acquiesced~~ acceded to it on the basis that perhaps the ex CCF and CCIMers were not yet completely part of it and it was a way of making contact with them. Well I gather we have made contact with them. We know who has possibilities, we can contact them personally, bring them to our affairs. From what I can see from here there is not much to be gained by debating this outfit. I feel there is some to be lost. Here we raise the issue of our party and present again some of our comrades as RWPers (I don't know who you plan on the debate). I don't raise this Barry in the way that I opposed the RWP debate with the CCF left. That I must say I continue to feel was a political error despite your attempts to convince me otherwise. I don't feel that this is near as important but important enough to express my opinion to you for what it is worth.

Yes that last news from Trail was good, two new members. Of course I knew all along that he had some potential members, many times we discussed Holmes. What I found interesting was his consternation that they wanted to stay in the CCF Rossland club. He had the perspective of building the independent party but the persons who were closest to Trotskyism don't have that perspective. I am happy to say that he seems to have learned something from them. Here is a very interesting quote from his last letter "Finally just before Christmas they agreed to join the party and together we hammered out a new tactical orientation which consists of a two line approach. First we base our activities within the Civic Workers and concurrently spreading out into the growing stream of the neutralist tendency among the "Hill" workers we come into contact with. The second line we advocate is orientation to the CCF via the Rossland club and the slow build-up of a broad left-wing in this district and from this recruiting our cadres. This constitutes a very fundamental turn for us here Ross, in that we are ignoring the present Stalinist influenced left wing and Stalinist periphery, in fact endeavouring to isolate them from the proposed left-wing. We are building our own left-wing from without the CCF and bringing them into the CCF, from our own local union and not from the petty bourgeoisified elements now so completely dominated by the Stalinists within the Mine Mill. I used the term petty bourgeoisified in that they constitute the bulk of the Stalinist fronts here such as the Peace movement, Civil Rights Committee and the nebulous cultural front."

This is the best news from Trail that I have heard from a long time. Now if we can keep him on this track we will be able to do something. I am now looking forward to our group there really dynamically and positively entering into the coming election campaign. With three comrades and a correct orientation that Steve now seems to have our CCF club there can really become the mass movement in that area. We can smash the piddling little peace movement, civil rights outfit the Stalinists have been trying to build up there with a couple of blows....take over whatever they were attracting and enter into ~~anyone's~~ the peace fight with the Sask convention resolutions.

I don't intend to take up your long and very interesting letter at this time. But just a few comments.... re my letter to Steve you say "I think it wrong to accuse Steve of giving Rose too much weight by that you tend to and you express a very justified bitterness etc." Well now I accuse Steve of nothing. Unfortunately you did not have his letter to hand but he at some length expressed concern that some comments he had made in a letter to the PC had roused Joe's wrath..his whole line was that he thought that I resigned because of Joe ~~xxxx~~. Far from accusing him of giving Rose too much weight I was only letting him know that Joe means absolutely nothing to me. "he only place I see Joe having any weight is in Vancouver". Here on the PC we just ignore him, that is why possibly he makes all those addendas to the minutes...for outside consumption. I must confess that none of us here feel saved by Vancouver intervention in l'affaire des fractic from a rather embarrassing position. You say that "by 'siding' with Rose we cut the ground from under him, removed from him the ability to say the NC as a whole was just an-echo or such crap." I don't know who you saved...the branch was going ahead full steam along the line of the PC recommendation. Rose only came back like a line when you comrades "sided" with him as you say As for what he says about the N.C. I don't give a damn and I did not think that anyone else cared either.

I can not help but say something Barry about you admonitions re your living with Jean and Lois "Ross Ross You are getting out of touch with life." I look upon myself to be such a sophisticate and I am really at a loss to account for your comments like these. This happens to be a proposal that Jean put forward. He raised the idea of he and Lois getting a very large apartment with extra rooms that they would not need or want for letting you or a fellow like Dick have.

you feel

I am really sorry that I put you in embarrassing position with the formality of the PC letters to the Toronto branch--their saying we are informed etc. For the life of me I still cannot despite your patient explanation understand why you should be embarrassed. If they laugh in my opinion the laugh is on them--they only further display their ignorance. Yes the PC entered into a factional dispute but not as a partisan in the dispute. Whether we are a group, a party or what you will their has to be a formal relationship between the PC which we are attempting to make the national leadership and a branch, even the Toronto branch. Perhaps for the next time you might suggest how a letter from the PC to the Toronto branch or any other section of the party should be written for I honestly don't know.

I am also sorry that I committed you in advance of hearing your views on a PC decision which as you say would have to take those views into consideration. It appears to have assumed things that I have no right to assume thinking myself to be completely familiar with the forces at our disposal I took for granted my leaving the N.O. presented us with no alternative but the one I suggested. I am looking forward to hear about your proposals. Of course a letter to Steve is not too much of a commitment. Incidentally a remark on some comments you makes about my letter to Steve. Don't take those comments I made about my getting to go into industry too seriously. I meant every word I said to you that for both you and I there is to be a never again work for a boss policy. I look upon the next period of my life in industry as a great waste but there is no alternative

I do not agree with your comment that there is nothing wrong in the Toronto branch dumping business meetings. It further removes the question of our CCF work from the control of the branch. It may even be to the good elsewhere, it all depends on the particular sit



uation...its relative. Here we have a bloc which controls the executive and is the bulk of the comrades in the CCF that is absolutely opposed to our orientation. From your letters I wonder if you believe this to be true or some hang over in Ross' mind, some bitterness over the past period of squabbles...looking for differences etc. When George was here he had the opportunity not supplied by me to see that there is such a bloc. After his report to the branch he amplified the report on the work of our British comrades. BS really came out with the old shit...we dont build reformist parties, the CCF isn't a labor party, it isn't there etc. George really ripped into him, all the rest of the minority was white faced.

I am also sorry that letters you begin to write to me often are torn up. I hope from the above bits and snatches that I am trying to score points on you that I am desirous of carrying on a petty tussle trying to make myself a bit bigger by making you a bit smaller. I know your criticism means to be instructive, yes I want to share your ideas, all of them. As a matter of fact while I know you are probably busy I am somewhat surprised that you do not tell me more of your work in Vancouver, what Reg and Bill etc are thinking, what is going on behind the scenes. Possibly it is because I have to some degree forfeited your confidence, through my failure to tell you why I resigned etc. I will tell all in a letter nextweek.

Unfortunately I have little to tell you so tied am I to the office. Hugh writes i that for the first time around the 32 who were fired at Fords there appears to be poss ibilities of an Anti-Reuther caucus. The 32 held a meeting a few weeks ago and attrac ted about 100 workers. They planned to parade up and down and through the mass meet- ing the next week and demands that their case be pushed to the fore by the negotiat- ing committee, that the company be forced to drop the charges against the 6. The prarade didn't come off. It appears they were not sufficiently knit together but the thing is moving. They are presenting their case in a speical le-flet through the shop. Hugh wrote in for 500 copies of the last issue for distribution. I gather he t i nks he can get some of the militants to kick in some dough to cover distribution. Havent heard from Lloydminster for a couple of months although I sent them a long chatty letter. Received the first letters from Burki and Seward for a long time a week ro so ago but they were not addressed to me but to Murray so I sent them on. Noakes nad his family have just come through a tough winter. He has not been too well. He is very sorry that you were unable to drop in on them. You will have to see them on the way back. ot a letter from Murray and much to my dismay he is now talking about staying in Montreal until the Spring. He appears to be having some trouble about selling his furniture which I do not quite grasp, he hasn't a job yet.

As for Toronto things are very quiet. Kit hasn't had her child yet but has been in and out of hospital. Both Dick and Paddy are unemployed but Paddy seems to have a job lined up a week away in Hamilton. Joyce of course is tied down with their children and Joe but Joe is now out of the hospital and expects to be back at work in a week or so. Ed has gone off to Simcoe on a job. It appears there are none here in Toronto and in my opinion it is just as well. As you know he hasn't worked for about a year. Took a job at Hess' and walked out after the boss talked to him the first day. Should be starting the Capital class up again next week. We dropped it when the election campaign work opened up and haven't found time to get it moving again since. Had a very good forum with George, about 23 persons. Planning another one as you can see from the last issue of LC a week or so away. It had originally been planned that Murray would give it ~~Monday~~. We are in the midst of a bit of a sub renewal campaign.

I took off last Sunday afternoon to go out and touch the workers in the sub renewal work. Did very well. Got two one year renewals and would have done much better but I dropped in on our friend Jimmy Johnson. Got a royal welcome from him, \$5, sold him two pamphlets, the Trial pamphlets, he asked me to send him some stuff from the book-store promising to come down first chance he gets. He was full of praise for the paper he had just been reading it and had read it thoroughly. The previous person whom I had seen and got a renewal from was quite a guy. I had a hard time getting away from him. He was an office worker but quite a maverik. He was arranging to hold a mass meeting i protest of some actions of the local school board and had got about 500 neighbours to

sign a petition he had drawn up. Said he liked the paper but doesn't agree with much. Votes CCF but really just about union conscious. Well I gave his name and address and story over to Johnson. I told him that this is the kind of a guy that a local CCF club should hook onto and see what he has. Johnson was more than pleased. Told me that a group in the Greenwood club had been formed recently and it was a left group. He urged me to come in and join the CCF. When I voiced some doubts about my getting in he brushed them aside with praise for our paper and our work. He said that there was a lot of respect for us in the Greenwood club. Will be going out again this Sunday...there are a couple of people on my list that I know are good and I have been intending to drop in on. We were never able to get them to a meeting but that often doesn't mean much.

(50)  
We have been picking up some more subs from the big mailings we have been doing. A fellow in Nakusp wrote in for a bunch of the cheap Trotsky pamphlets and a bundle of papers. I wrote him a friendly letter to see if we could make contact but no results yet. Nakusp is in the Kootenay Valley. Les Dawson wrote in last week. Asked us to send a sub to a guy he met up in Huntsville where he is working. The fellow is a BLP member leftists. Les' letter was quite a fine one. Says he has taken our advice and joined the CCF again, there is a club up there. He agrees again with our struggle including the question of morality. Is going to send us some money. Now working in a car parts outfit.

The store is moving slowly. Regardless of the branch I am preparing some leaflets that we can distribute at the labor council meetings. listing a selection of books of interest to trade unions. We are also drawing one up for CCFers. Will send you some when we have them run off. Expect to have our big sign up in a week or two. So far we haven't really hit the book buying public, just passers by. But we are hitting a few politicians. True they haven't lead anywhere but no doubt they will lead to others.

As far as our CCF work is concerned here best possibilities appear to be through Dick Paddy and Ken. The present club is rather poor although we are all accepted and they certainly know who Ken and Paddy are anyway. I have been having a hard time keeping Paddy out of the room here so I can carry on with this letter. But I think I have convinced him that we will use a fellow by the name of Frier who was the candidate and is a trade unionist to go about the job of trying to build a CCF club in the proletarian section of the constituency.

I see I had better try to close this letter off Barry. Say do you think you could handle an article for the next issue. From here it looks like we could use one on the break up of the Coalition in B.C. the move forward of the CCF...I don't know what has happened at the IWA convention but the question of the B.C. unions and the CCF is a big one. The B.C. CCL convention is taking place in a few days also isn't it. What do you think. I would like it in somewhere around the tenth. I know that that takes us right in on the trip you will be taking down to Seattle. If you don't have time no harm done. I am managing to grind out the paper without too much strain.

I see there is terrific unemployment in Vancouver. How are you making out? I hope you don't have to take any shit house job. Glad to hear about your contact with the Holdridge group. I never heard of it until you mentioned it. I see you have another party out there too the Christian Democrats. How are we coming along with the best of that SP youth element? Don't space your letters out so far...its a month since I heard from you. Make 'em shorter if necessary. I am sure the Clarke visit is going to be a profitable one. Write me when you get back. I hope there will be a letter off this machine waiting for you upon your return.

with warmest greetings

Ross

March 2, 1952

Dear Barry,

That last letter of yours was something..I hope I can do justice to it in replying. I am a little later in taking it up since I felt obliged to get one away to Steve..one Sunday took time out to do some renewal work...very successful, got four one year renewals... all the subs had expried with issue number 68, almost three years ago...one of them invited me in,bought both Trial pamphlets, served me a beer and wants me to come back next Friday night, he is a steelworker-COFer, about 65, quite militant but confused...and to continue on in this sentence...have had to spend some time getting the law moving to settle Mrs D's estate etc etc. MY DAY. But here I am now picking out character by character on the typewriter

Received a phone call from Marvin, one of some duration in which he passed on your expressions of condolence. Thanks Barry. It is the first death in our family and the first death other than the Old Man's that I have really experienced. I well remember when Trotsky died. It really staggered me. My mothers death somehow did not. Ever since I can remember my mother has talked of death. I can remember when she had disputes with my father that she sometimes threatened suicide. After she had a sever stroke a week and day before she went the doctor told us that there was one chance in ten that she would last another 48 hours. That night and for that matter the next 8 I did not sleep but I really felt that she did not mind dying. And afterwards we find that she told several people following the stroke she had last fall that she wanted to die. As you can imagine when the doctor told us on February 3rd that she would never come out of it we all in our love for her wished her to go. The first night I stayed up with her..when she woke up and saw me sitting at her side she kept asking me what was the matter...after that night she said nothing more about her condition, she asked no questions, made no comments except that she was able to get up. She was fully conscious for another 4 or 5 days at least but she never said anything..When I asked her if she would like to see her husband whom I know she loved fervently she just said alright if he wanted to come down. There was one thing my mother lived in fear of and that was being an imposition on others. The stroke she had last fall was much more serious than we had dreamed. It seems that she just had to rest, sleep and there was no getting away from it..And she became very vexed by the chains of her body on her desires to do things, to type up papers down here at the office, to do the house work, the washing and ironing. I was with her, what was left of her when what they call death came..She was in the hospital the last five days for the most part under an oxygene tant. The last 60 hours she was unconscious, the previous 60 or so she was semi-conscious.

We must have had three or four mid morning (about 3 a.m.) calls from the hospital that she was going and we lived in expectation every night of others so you can appreciate that when it came it was a relief to us all..What barbarism...this sustaining of her body. The only compensation was that nurses and doctors learned something no doubt, and that she was in no pain being unconscious..I was talking to a nurse about the senselessness of it all and she told me that if we were in someother hospital such as the General that possibly the doctors would have eased the way. Immediately after her going the doctor asked if we would permit an autopsy...and almost swooned when I said by all means and signed the paper. It appears that this permission is rarely granted in St Joseph's. Had to go through and even play a bit of a role in the burial ritual that my mother had laid down specifications for. And now it is over. I will be inheriting a couple of thousand dollars which my mother scraped and saved and did without things for. We are breaking up house. Ruth and Jerry did not want to keep it on so there was no purpose, although I have no use for the money

Well, how did you like the last issue. Incidntly the bookbinders strike still goes on at this writing. Glad you took the trouble to give me the details on the difference of opinion that has cropped up on the evaluation of doings at the BC Federation convention. We need information of this type if the PC ever hopes to lead the party, educate it. We have had all kinds of differences like this in the past but they have just stewed away beneath the surface and have been left to build up a feeling of distrust, uneasiness. This difference could be of considerable moment. I see our Vancouver comrades do not draw these conclusions themselves but

it seems to me that it has a certain logic—that the CCF is ~~un~~possibly not the path of labor in this country, at least we should not be too committed to this belief, that there are extensive layers of workers who are to the left of the CCF, that some new formation may develop in the next period that will be to the left of the CCF etc. therefore we should hold back a bit in our all out drive to integrate ourselves in the CCF, we should express some reservations so as to get the ear of these leftists, be prepared to make some organizational maneuvers in other directions than the CCF. It seems to me that the differences expressed around BC Federation developments should be the type of things to be recorded in your NC members meeting, for discussion on the PC.

I used the material in your letter to serve me as a guide in the writing of the article on the BC CCL convention. Of course I am in complete agreement with your minority of one man stand. I hope the article is not too provocative ...but sufficient to either settle the question as expressed around this incident or drive it out into the open for party discussion. Since this problem has not been presented for discussion in the PC I think it alright to pretend unawareness of it but just write an article relating to it with a hard line in the paper. Of course I am anxious to hear from you how everybody takes the article.

I am sure that there will be no trade union conferences and that Tom Uphill worried sick no doubt about his own chances in this election with all the support that the Stalinists will give him will get nowhere. Our comrades are mistaking the stench arising from an enfeebled Stalinism ~~metam~~ in arm with a scattering of boss political stooges for the spring sephr of the revolution that they are so anxiously looking for.

Dick's contribution is rather poor particularly in the light of the detailed sketch that you forwarded and I turned over to him along with all the clippings.. I am finding difficulty finding what he can best write. About three months ago I turned over a peck of material to him on Louis Reil. He went up to the library and did a great deal of research. At one editorial meeting after I had had several discussions with him on it he expressed some confusion as to what the Reil struggle was all about. We had a very fruitful discussion on it, he did some more research then along came two articles in Macleans. After reading them he said we had nothing to write about. I again discussed the matter with him pointing out that these articles didn't really analyse the struggle but just told a tale but he let it all drop. He is very shy and reserved and I am unable to ascertain how far I should go with him, maybe I am too sensitive in the light of experiences of the past while but I am afraid that he will feel I am seeking to impose my viewpoint upon him. Nonetheless I think this last issue is a very good one for B.C.I had Dick write Ruth for mailing lists. B.C. Lumberworkers etc and to ask her to write us at once if you could use more.

Before going on I would like to refer back to my suggestion that the difference that cropped up on the BC Federation doings should be recorded in your NC members meeting minutes.. I note that you say in your correspondence to the PC dated February 17 that we will be advised of "the general plan of the Van group through the minutes of the next branch meeting." In your letter you also say that Reg is writing us his ideas as to how we should proceed with our entry. Now we haven't received anything from Reg or from the branch secretary. I am very much concerned about this matter of correspondence and discussion with Vancouver of the many problems confronting the party. Our relations have in my mind never been what they should be. For a while we used to get branch minutes and as sketchy as they were they did give us an inkling of what was doing there--perhaps not was being thought there. Reg's last letter was the first in about 8 or 9 months and even he used to occasionally express considerable disagreement with us on various questions which he used to let drop after expressing the difference



1

Everything is fine of course as long as you are there but what about when you are not there in a few months. I think that this is just more than a formality—I feel that you should insist that Bill or Reg and not you carry the official correspondence with the center. I think that the PC should be made aware of differences in viewpoint on important questions that may arise amongst the PC members there. Following my letter of February the 6th to all three of you Bill dropped me a note expressing his full agreement with the views I expressed and stating disagreement with you Reg and Ruth. In a subsequent letter of the 11th he says "Had a good discussion with George there and I don't think we will have much trouble over making a decision more in line with your and my point of view when the votes are counted tomorrow night." In his letter of the 8th following receipt of mine he says "In future I propose that Barry before writing you on matters of this kind consult with the resident N.C. members—or part of them at any rate. I know Barry and I (or Reg too) does not agree with ~~the~~ characterization of Young and unless this is properly understood, many difficulties can come in our way." My impression is that Bill in many ways has been irresponsible and that Reg has had to carry the ball there. I think it would be excellent if you in the next few months left can force those two comrades to get together more often to seriously discuss the problems of the branch and the party and to start an official correspondence with the PC... a correspondence that will cover in detail the different viewpoints held on various questions that will permit the PC to really step in and give leadership

you

We are having a PC meeting tomorrow night. ~~XXX~~ In the minutes you sent suggest that we discuss organizational details necessitated by recent developments. All I have is the extensive news that you sent in your letter of the 17th Feb. As far as Vancouver is concerned the party has pretty much been presented with a fait accompli. Of course I think it is very good the way things are moving and I am heartily in agreement with your whole course but about all you leave us to discuss ~~it~~ can be put in a thimble. The dissolution of the Vancouver branch with a public statement ~~and minutes~~ in the hands of the SP of C and with you our second most publicized figure making a public statement of non membership in the RWP—that is a really big development. If I had doubts about the orientation I would most strenuously attack these actions as being far outside the prerogative of the Vancouver branch and I think anyone even in complete agreement with the orientation and the actual doings in Vancouver would have to express their reservations about how it was carried out without consultation with the PC.

I think Barry that in the next period it would be well if you really went out of your way to cultivate the idea that all moves we have to make should be cleared through the PC—it would be better to even err in this direction knowing that when you are gone we will tend to sink back to our former poor connection to a considerable degree.

Incidentally for my own information what did you say in your statement to the Stanley Park club. It must have been masterly. I myself would feel rather uncomfortable in such a position for the question is inevitably posed since the statement is on behalf of yourself only what do you think of those Trotskyists that remain in the RWP. Off hand I am inclined to believe that it would have been better prior to any of our comrades who are known to the degree that you Reg Ruth and Bill are that the branch had been formally disbanded and then when our membership in the CCF comes up we just casually say didn't you know... why the Vancouver RWP was disbanded

I would take time to give you my opinion as to how we should proceed now but I guess tomorrow's meeting will thrash this out and you will get ~~it~~ all in the minutes. Murray is now in town and these will be the first minutes that he will put out.





Bill wanted to publish a paper out there...at one time they wanted to set up a B.C. district of the party when there was no more basis for it than fly (I thought at the time that this was Bradely's idea) I am convinced that Whalen and Bradely had this conception of their position in the party on the N.C. had this attitude towards the center. I have felt that Bill has this tendency and that Reg has to some degree fought against it. These tendencies in B.C. have in my opinion been the biggest barrier to our building an integrated leadership. These tendencies were to a considerable degree reinforced by the convention last summer. Glad to read in your last letter that you are considering the convention and Hansen's role. I consider that convention a crime against Bolshevism and Hansen to have played a really stupid and presumptuous role and I to have played a terribly weak one but we will talk all about that later when you return to us, after in our rejoicing have killed the fatted calf partaken of the joyful Hypocrene and converse over a mellow cigar. But to get back in there I hope that in the next short time at your disposal that you ~~maneuver~~ will be able to bolster up the authority of the PC....to even err on the side of formalities. Of course the PC, any leadership only has the authority that it earns but those of us who fully realize the need for centralization can enter into the process consciously. You know this tactic of entry has fearful decentralizing effects. The tendency that persons on the spot know more than anyone else and must have ever increasingly latitude, a tendency which is very strong in our movement and finds a certain justification in that in that Canada is so wide and there is considerable unevenness in development tends to flourish under the conditions that are going to confront us in the future more and more. Getting terribly pedantic aren't I. I must remember who I am writing to....enough of this .....

Looking forward to receiving your document on the CCF. I think we will need it. I have sent out a circular letter just a few minutes ago on your dissolution of the branch out there and dealing in passing with the work of several other points. The response from various points to this circular letter will give us an idea what is now the situation in our forces with regards to this question. I will send you a word of anything we get. The circular letter will be read out to Toronto branch this next Friday. I will send you a synopsis of anything I think interesting. Two or three weeks after that the branch is going to listen to me speak on the the second convention document that was never really discussed here..the one George urges should be really studied. I am not too sure what the line of my talk will be ~~xxx~~..I hope to get valuable leads from the reaction to the circular letter. While the opposition in the Toronto branch is of no importance it sometimes gives us is a particularly crude and vulgar way insight into how other comrades may be tending to think.

I suppose Reg received Steve's little billet doux. Just a few hours after he posted that he must have received a letter from me. I don't think you comrades out there should pay too much attention to his last note or to a great deal of what he writes. A few weeks ago he returned a copy of Lenin and Zinoviev's Socialism and War which I had loaned him from the branch library. Pencilled in at the end in his handwriting was a remark on the tactic of entry to the effect that it was just as much conciliationism to social democracy as Trotsky's error in 1903-1915 re Bolshevism. Did he have attached to the branch resolution that he mailed you a letter on their work. If he did you can see that he is going in there half cocked, prepared to raise shit. From past experience I have come to belief that a lot of it is sheer bravado. But we are going to come to grips with them at this end. I would propose that you should just drop a short note telling him how busy you all are, how you will make every attempt to keep in touch with him and let him know how things are going. Even though we have picked up two more persons there in my last letter which I had mailed before receiving this missle I asked him when will he be pulling out. He is not going to be





Quite a stand that the CCF national council took on Nato Lisbon decisions. No doubt reflects the pressure that is on their confrere's in the British Labor Party, France etc and possibly partially a reaction to the blast that they got from Sask and BC on the redraft.. Certainly as left as any important segment of the workers is prepared to listen to—left of Bevan. No doubt Bevan and his defiance of the leadership is having beneficial effects on the B.C. left. We will have to play up Churchill's exposure of the Attlee duplicity on China-Korea and the atom bomb in the next issue. I am hoping that the Militant will have something direct from the "Old Country". It looks like the left won't be sporting bears modeled on Tortsky or Redeck but cultivating ~~and~~ a limey accent.

I see I missed commenting on your sketch of the document you are working on... a word...yes we must imbue the left with our perspective....there is considerable danger ~~known~~ of our submitting to going along with adventurist moves that they may make. We have on a small scale had an experience along this line....involving strange to say two of us. Paddy is in St Paul. He has been around for a long time and is accepted there as a Marxist. He waded in during the discussion on the re-draft. We tried to restrain him but with no success. Ken got sucked in. He identified himself before this collection of right wingers as a Marxist and from his fragmentary reports really got embroiled in absurd discussions with hopeless elements. Not strange to say he has not yet got his membership card. They sent an executive member around to see him asking him if he had been a member of the RWP. etc etc. He is supposed to get his card but he hasn't received it yet. In my opinion they are holding off till they see how he conducts himself. He wasn't there two meetings before he got an invite to speak to the Rosedale CCYM on Why the CCF hasn't made any headway in French Canada and Fundamentals Principles of Marxism. From the comments in the minutes, how the various comrades see the task I think you have done a good job along this line....but this danger exists... after all we are all impatient to see things move and when some leftists other than ourselves start pushing we will tend to go. Without too much trouble I think we should be able to imbue them with our evaluation of developments...if not to hell with them...

~~MEMO~~ You ask how we are stacking up here. Dick hasn't got a card. At the time the asked him he did n't have any money. Last week I passed a motion to advance him the funds if necessary. He seems to have little patience with the work, almost a moral protest to the conspiracy it involved us in but he will be in there shortly. Big development is that Jean has been accepted. He just went down and joined through Woodsworth House. He had intended to take advantage of Conquerwood's offer to sponsor him but the fat boy has been out of town for a long time now so we went ahead. Things are opening up in Parkdale and Joyce is doing better there. Myer is up to his neck in a left club. Ex-~~ovestonite~~ Huggett has been opening up in Greenwood. Old man Leavens led the club to rejection of the re-draft although it is significant that they didn't bother to send anyone to the St. Catherine's meeting. The have started a weekly educational club. Last week they had a talk by Huggett on Marx which Myer said was very good. Next week Leavens is going to review the Bending Cross...Debs. I am going to see if we can get John Richardson to get into that club and that fellow whom I met during my sub work that I mentioned in the start of this letter last week.

No I don't think we should disband club by club—we would be making an issue where there is none..Windsor for instance. I think we should disband the party as a whole. But the minutes of the PC should give you my opinion on that matter. Murray has been working on the minutes for sometime now and they should be about ready by now anyway. They will be reported along the line of the last ones I drew up.

I see you say you owe me two letters. Well let's have them.

Would you like me to send you any books. Have a nice collected works of Wilfred Owen... have you read the Bending Cross.....at your service.

Yours

Ross

March 12, 1952

Dear Ruth;

Sorry to be so long in replying

Thanks for your kind expressions of sympathy

I am enclosing with this note a short list of names and addresses that have come our way in the past few months which should be of interest to you. I think the notes along side are sufficiently explanatory.

Have checked up on Lefty's address and it is OK. We ~~must not~~ do not have the Baker's on our mailing list, to my knowledge they haven't been on the list for a long time, if ever. If they are the Bakers that Bill and I went around to see and get a donation this is an unfortunate oversight on our part. I have entered their name. We will have to devise some method whereby you can tell me whose name should not be removed from the list even though they do not go to the trouble to renew. We have this problem here at Toronto. Some persons who give quite extensively to our financial drive fail to renew—probably think that with the them it should be an automatic process. I always go through the plates before we drop them to make sure that these people still get the paper. It would probably be a good idea if after we send you comrades the slips for all the expirations out there that you send me back those who you were unable to see but we are interested in still carrying on.

Yes I have been following what you have been doing as closely as possible. And you are right..I know that I have never before had the feeling of confidence that I and we all knew where we were going as I have today. It really came to me personally with the writing of the paper, analysing the Canadian scene over the past two and a half years culminating in the formulating of all these experiences in that document THE CCF: OUR TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES. You have the feeling of having climbed up a some strewn precipitous slope and now standing on top of the highest peak see all the valleys and intervening peaks to our objective stretched out below, the route ~~seems~~ ahead difficult but stretched out clearly before us. It reminds me of the last page of the Old Man's MY LIFE where he quotes Emerson Prudhom. The scene is a little different but apropos. From his prison he expresses the supreme confidence that comes from complete apprehension. Look it up sometime you have an opportunity.

One of the comrades when I told him we had been in the CCF before expressed the thought that possibly we should never have left it. Well there is ~~was~~ one thing I know and that is ---we never had any real conception then of what was before us, how to work. The past ~~five~~ years, particularly the past ~~5~~ years of Labor Challenge have been most fruitful ones. It is worth taking a look at the other revolutionaries that drifted on, the Eve Smiths and even the best of them the Roger Bray's. They have been a priceless experience --those seven years.

Thanks for the bits of information around the discussion on the re-draft. You will note that I used a little of it in the front page article dealing with the B.C. rejection of it. I see your first move—to fight for consideration of the Dewdney motion took the day. I am very glad that it ended here for McLeod's

proposal and even Dowding's proposal would be the last thing that we would want to get involved in. I can see that you comrades are going to have a built of a ticklish time of it...giving those leftists our orientation...they are going to recurringly want to fight on the wrong thing. However I am sure that our prestige is extremely high and that we will have a terrific effect on them.

We here are all looking to you comrades to teach us how to work in the CCF. What with the more advanced situation there you are sort of an advanced guard. You will have to wring oavery experience out of yourselves and put it on paper for us to learn ~~ix~~. I received an excellent batch of minutes from Sarah Wells. Just what we needed. Inreply I sent her a circular letter on recent doings. Did I do right in sending it to her. I am not too clear on what goes to who out your way. I see Jo is coressponding secretary. But the minutes came from Sarah... however possibly that is because of the security mix-up we had. Next time you have a chance will you strighten me up on this.

Yes I think it would be a good idea if anyone has the time out there to correspond with Milnes Landing, Trail etc...tell t em about the most recent developments They have all received the circular information letter on your dissolution with copious comments on how you see the task ahead gleaned from the minutes you sent us.

I hear Reg has a letter or two for me ...speed him on. Looking forward to hear from him.

warmest regards

Ross

1952-Mar

The mass Trotskyist party will not be capable of realization until a whole new series of conflicts unfold that will put the Coldwell-Millard leadership and the LPP (Labor Progressive Party – Stalinist –ed.) leadership, not to just one test, but a whole series of tests. The essential role in this process, to assure that the most far seeing strata of the class assimilate the lessons of their struggles and form the revolutionary instrument, will be that played by the present Trotskyist cadre and the forces it gathers to its side in the unfolding experiences.

While it is necessary, in the interests of the security of our work within the left wing and in the interests of promoting more favorable opportunities for ourselves, that we press forward the conception of the left challenging the right wing for the leadership of the party and taking over the party with its program and its personnel, it is excluded that we, through a series of victories, will take over the party — that the CCF will be transformed by the rush of events into the party of the proletarian revolution. Not only will the firmly entrenched Coldwell leadership bar us from this possibility but there are certain experiences that this treacherous leadership will attempt to take the working class through where we will refuse to follow. The mass revolutionary party will be forged in the process of a whole series of splits, unifications, expulsions.

For us one thing is clear. The first stages of the process, the culture in which a revolutionary proletariat will develop will be in, around, and through the CCF.

The 1948 Ontario elections and subsequent similar developments such as have taken place in BC answered YES to the question we posed back in 1946 — Will the CCF succeed in becoming a genuine labor party based on the unions? The CCF is the form that the labor party has taken on in this country. It possesses a nation-wide apparatus, is the government in Saskatchewan, the official opposition in several other provinces and an effective force in the federal house. Since 1943 it has rooted itself in the CCL-CIO (Canadian Congress of Labor-(US)CIO, the industrial union federation). Since 1951 it has deepened its influence in the TLC-AFL (Trades and Labour Congress-(US)AFL, the craft unions federation – ed.) considerably. It represents the first striving of the Canadian workers into the realm of their own class politics. It is in advance of the general level of consciousness of the class as a whole.

#### NOT A TRADITIONAL ORGANIZATION

But the CCF is hardly to be called a traditional organization in the minds of the Canadian working class. They have no firmly rooted connections with it. They have no feelings of profound loyalty to the CCF as a party such as the workers in Europe have to their parties which today they might sense do not serve them as they should but in the past have given them good service and in their days of doubt hesitate to break from them.

While the CCF has wide influence in the unions it is primarily through the top and secondary layers of the leadership. The majority of the workers still look to their unions as the necessary united face to show to the bosses and not the CCF. They still vote Liberal or as yet are indifferent to politics. The Canadian workers have as yet had extremely limited political experiences. In

some areas where there have been the most explosive revolutionary experiences, thanks to the power of the unions and their ability to win minor concessions, the CCF has a tenuous and limited influence.

While the CCF is a mass party with a solid electoral base of about 700,000 the mass of the Canadian proletariat do not yet support the CCF; only its advanced layers do. In the 1953 federal election the CCF polled 11 percent of the national vote. In Ontario, the most highly populated and industrialized province, where 34 percent of the national vote is cast, the CCF polled little more than its national percentage. In the Prairie provinces, almost entirely a farm area and where only 17,4 percent of the national vote is cast, the CCF polled 24 percent of the vote. It is the advanced workers who support the CCF. Only a thin layer of them have joined the party and fewer still participate in its routine activities. The active membership of the CCF is Christian socialist, humanitarian, not militantly class conscious. The bulk of them are advanced in age, workers who learned their lessons in the pre-war depression years. Few are under forty.

The leadership of the CCF is firmly entrenched not only through the positions that it has won in the bourgeois state and its domination of the party apparatus but also, since the movement is comparatively new, through the prestige of having played and continuing to play an important and positive role in the building of the movement. The leadership reflects the extremely limited organized base of the movement and all the characteristics of this base. There are limited possibilities of its meeting even the first tasks that would confront it when the advanced workers translate their support into participation in the movement and the masses in crisis press on the CCF to meet their needs.

Talk to the effect that the Canadian working class are much more advanced than the American workers who are still tied to the Republican and Democratic parties is commonplace in and around political circles. This is altogether one-sided. The Canadian workers are not as qualitatively different from the United States workers as their support of a farmer-labor party would lead one to believe. The CCF arose out of a Western agrarian movement which due to a number of circumstances achieved sufficient stability to give momentum to and provide the basis for a regroupment of radical elements in the East and sufficient momentum to sustain the movement over the past two decades. Reformism of a social democratic character has not permeated their consciousness so as to present a barrier to their quickly developing a revolutionary consciousness. The Canadian workers have no deep-seated reformist illusions such as to tie them to the CCF establishing it as a formidable barrier as the Socialist and Communist parties present themselves in the path of the formation of the mass revolutionary parties of Europe. The Canadian workers do not look upon the CCF as their big traditional organization which it is (united in) as necessary to face the assaults of Big Business.

Sections of the Canadian workers have started on the road of independent political action. The class will project itself along this route but will not stop halfway – it will not STOP at reformism except to tip its hat to it. Once fairly started they will go the whole way. They will put a foot in the CCF but it will not be much more than a toe hold to leap further.

In their next stages of increasing class consciousness and understanding the workers are going to go to the CCF — the base of the movement is sufficient to completely assure that — the politicization of the Canadian workers is going to take place through the CCF. But the CCF is not going to be captured by the left which will consolidate itself under the mass pressures of the workers. The left is not going to capture the CCF and the CCF is not going to become the new name of the Trotskyist party.

## MASS PRESSURE

The mass pressure which will assure the formation of broad leftist tendencies in the CCF by no means assures their crystallization into a conscious revolutionary vanguard capable of breaking free from the centrist milieu and leading the masses to power. On the contrary. For this, the revolutionary theory of Marxism, in this epoch called Trotskyism, and the crystallization of a vanguard around this theory that can project itself into action, is essential.

The fact that mass pressures on the Labor Party have thrust the centrist Bevanites forward on the way to taking over the leadership of the mass party of the workers in industrially advanced Britain, and that the centrist Communist parties in backward China and Yugoslavia, breaking from Kremlin directives, proved capable of taking power does not at all cause us to revise our conception of the essentiality of a revolutionary party with the revolutionary theory of Trotskyism.

The problem of leadership now is not limited to spontaneous manifestations of the class struggle in a long-drawn process, nor even to the conquest of power in this or that country where capitalism is especially weak. It is a question of the development of the international revolution and the socialist transformation of society. To admit that this can happen automatically is in effect to abandon Marxism altogether. It can only be a conscious operation and it imperatively requires the leadership of the Marxist party which represents the conscious elements in the historic process. No other tendency than Trotskyism can be recognized as a satisfactory substitute.

Any contrary conception would transform our tactic from an entry into what would in essence amount to a liquidation, a dispersal of our cadre. We can enter, retain our unity and not capitulate to bourgeois pressures on the movement today and centrist petty bourgeois tendencies in the movement tomorrow, not just on the basis of a more correct program — but only in so far as we retain our concept that the mass revolutionary party is the product of the highest consciousness of human ingenuity, is not an inevitable process of events, but is a conscious crystallization around a revolutionary theory. The process of an entry requires for our cadre a higher centralism and a heightened consciousness of the role of the revolutionary vanguard party.

The development of revolutionary pressures on the CCF will result in the formation of broad leftist, centrist, tendencies where we will find the material for the mass party of Canadian Trotskyism. But this is still in the future. Our cadres are in the CCF now. It is necessary to define the role our cadres have to play now. This is particularly necessary, for as revolutionists we must



be sensitive to the dangers of demoralization and degeneration setting in on our cadre immersed in a movement on which bourgeois pressure today is most prevalent.

The Trotskyist party in a deep entry in the CCF will remain sensitive to every development within the CCF, which as the crisis of world capitalism unfolds, will strike blow upon blow on its present leadership. Under the conflicting pressures of the proletariat and bourgeoisie, the CCF leadership will vacillate, betray and betray again. In the course of the exhaustion of the progressive possibilities of the CCF there will be splits, expulsions, re-unifications, splits, etc. Our forces must be acutely sensitive to the possibilities that will exist through these splits, expulsions; of re-establishing on a higher plane the independent party so essential for the success of the revolution.

Unlike previous entries designed to meet sizeable left currents in social democracy already moving in our direction, we made this entry with the full knowledge that there was no viable left wing in the CCF. Two years later and there is still none. At this stage the movement as a whole is left of the class; there are few pressures coming from the working class resulting in a differentiation between the leadership and the membership; but on the contrary, the prevailing pressure is entirely from bourgeois sources which results basically in a coalescing of the movement rather than a differentiation.

But within this broad general course of the movement there are nonetheless numerous cross-currents and eddies which we must be sensitive to and, exploit as best we can. There are extensive leftist dissident tendencies in the movement continually ebbing and flowing which on occasion, though on a low political plane, have proven capable of rallying considerable forces.

The low level that these leftist, dissident tendencies develop on, the ebb and flow of their opposition, requires us to develop the utmost patience and skill in presenting our ideas. We reject any and all conceptions of abstentionism, that there is nothing that we can do at this juncture, of sitting on our hands waiting for the influx of the masses into the CCF clubs and the development of the viable left wing. If such a policy could find justification in fact, we would be compelled to recognize that the whole entry, fraught with the danger of the destruction of the cadre we now possess, was a grave error and we would be compelled to terminate it at once.

Such concepts, if they were to develop and prevail in our ranks would result in the complete demoralization and loss of our present precious cadres, for we could not retain a revolutionary theory that was so divorced from reality and from practice in any form. If we fail to develop the necessary patience and skill in presenting our ideas, if we merely wait, sitting on our hands, we will never attain the slightest integration that would defend us from the first witch-hunt moves of the leadership. Those who can see no possibilities now would never see possibilities as they arise.

Our tasks at this stage of development are:

\* To sink our forces deep into the CCF which reflects the level, development and experience of the Canadian workers as it really is. To become flesh of the flesh of the class. Not only to participate to the full in the better activities of the movement to help build it and integrate

ourselves in it, but to project activities that will aid the movement to sink deeper roots into the working class and sharpen its class significance.

- \* To learn how to really work as revolutionists, to learn how to work with our ideas, to assess the level of experience and understanding of the broadest layers now in the movement — to project them forward on as broad a front as possible. The transitional program is the key. To thoroughly assimilate, to learn how to present, apply our advanced concepts.

- \* To create an atmosphere in the movement favorable to the projection of views at variance with the leadership's.

- \* To press ourselves forward as leaders in the CCF, to identify ourselves in the public mind as its best and most able spokesmen.

- \* To organize as broad forces as possible around this and that transitional demand which projects them into revolutionary actions and towards a rounded understanding of the whole program of transitional demands.

- \* To recruit to our cells the more advanced elements who will develop in the process of our broader work and gravitate towards us and make them familiar with the full program of the world socialist revolution.

- \* To broaden our connections with the movement outside our immediate contact. To increase our own understanding of our ideas and their application to new developments, scarcely possible of discussion within the mass movement, through intensified educational work in our cells.

### NOT ASSIMILATION BUT INTEGRATION

Far from imperiling our integration in the CCF, making us vulnerable to disciplinary actions of the right wing, work to the realization of the above general outline is an essential part of our integration in the CCF and the preservation of our forces from adaptation and assimilation in the reformist morass. The bureaucrats, freed from pressure from the left and seeking an aura of respectability, confront us with a continuing threat of persecution. But they are the less able to move in against us the more we become connected with the progressive tendencies in the party and identified in the public mind as representing the movement. The process of genuine integration is made difficult by the present quiescence of the movement and the limited left currents at present, but this problem is above all a political one and Bolshevik politics are the answer.

As we give to progressive tendencies in the movement, generalize them, participate in the activities of the movement, advance carefully, whenever an opportunity presents itself this and that transitional demand, we are not only aiding in the process of differentiation in the movement, giving the more advanced elements a better understanding of the problems and bringing them closer to us, we are building the buffers that will best defend us from the bureaucratic maneuvers of the leadership.

## BUILD THE PARTY NOW

Our entry was designed to build the party — not at some later date that would provide us with some sort of ideal conditions, but NOW, as a process. Making all due allowance for the security of our forces it is essential that we recruit to our party now and on an ever-increasing scale. We cannot even begin to realize the full implications of our entry which is an action designed on the grand scale without augmenting our forces. With our present forces we have been scarcely able to scratch the surface of the possibilities that exist even now. When the broad left develops as a viable force there is a grave danger that we will be overwhelmed by it, that due to limited forces cramping our operations in it, much of its power will be dissipated for lack of direction and understanding or misdirected into blind alleys.

It is essential that we build a wider apparatus. We have already, and we can expect to do so even more often in the future, recruiting prominent and well-integrated members of the CCF to our party. These comrades represent a powerful defence around those of us who are now known as Trotskyists or who happen to get known in the future as such, from the disciplinary knife of the right wing. We cannot permit the fear that we may recruit an agent of the Coldwell leadership to enter into the question as to whether or not we should recruit. We must take certain risks. The task is to cut them to a minimum. There are many opportunities to test contacts in the process of work in the clubs and Political Action Committees and, on a personal basis.

Through the connections that we are forming in the CCF we should be searching for ways and means of reaching out to make contacts in areas where we have never had contact before. We must not only increase our influence in the localities where we have long been but must broaden the base of the party. There is no doubt that we already have wider contact with radical workers now than we have ever had before. While our general work compels us to advance our view in a broad and general way, particularly at this juncture, there is sufficient unevenness of development in the class and in the mass movement that we can expect to turn up an ever increasing number of workers receptive to the more advanced aspects of our program and even our complete program.

If there were a broad and active left wing, the process of differentiation would proceed most logically through its activities and within it; however in its absence, it is necessary that we find other ways of bringing the best proletarian elements closer to us.

The setting up of a co-operative around the bookstore which would permit us to hold public discussions on timely, important books and pamphlets would be an excellent project to meet this need... co-op membership providing an organizational stepping stone into the party itself. In the West some similar device should be considered.

There is no question that the loss of our press was a grievous one. The press kept the party on its toes, confronting it with the continual need to orient itself on key national and international developments. It provided us with a constant barrage of information that was invaluable for our work. The problems of its writing, publication and distribution gave us a strong organizational cohesiveness. The literary efforts of our co-thinkers can never be a substitute for a press of our own. Due to the absence of a broad left we can see no possibility in the immediate future of the

appearance of a journal in which we along with others could express our ideas. Even in the eventuality that this should be soon solved it is desirable that some way be found for the expression of our more advanced ideas which a broad left wing journal would not permit. We should consider the advisability of meeting this problem — possibly by the publication of a quarterly journal along the lines of the British Labor Review. Such a journal could be published in the name of one of our comrades who has been refused admission into the CCF and it could be circulated fairly broadly by comrades and contacts in the mass movement.

Considerable progress has been made in the identification of our comrades as leaders of the CCF, not only within the lower apparatus of the party but in local communities. Last Fall in BC where we have never before appeared as political leaders in the community, three of us ran as municipal candidates. In Toronto last Fall we ran three candidates; one ran as an official candidate, the other two, both barred from membership in the CCF, identified themselves as supporters of the CCF. We have moved boldly in the taking of posts in local and area CCF bodies. To a large extent we have been able to do so due to apathy and lack of competition. But it is also a political achievement, as not only have the majority of our comrades been identified as Trotskyists by the right, but on a modest scale we have been successful in winning support to leftist ideas that we have advanced. This policy of projecting ourselves forward into the lower positions of leadership in the party places us in a favorable position to influence the future course of development and at the same time makes us less vulnerable to right wing disciplinary action.

## STALINISM

Despite the absence of a broad viable left wing in the CCF, the dissolution of the Revolutionary Workers Party (the disappearance of our press and our much more circumscribed public existence) the danger that the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party will pick up CCF dissidents is a minimal one.

While it retains a certain influence in the Canadian union movement (not so much on the basis of its politics as on a trade union activist basis) the LPP has suffered a colossal decline in influence. Although the cold war and the witch-hunt are the primary cause it would be wrong to attribute the great depth of the decline of LPP influence to them. The anti-communism of the Canadian workers is by no means all reactionary — particularly the anti-Stalinism of the CCF ranks and CCF supporters. If leftists in the CCF see their party drifting perilously close to the capitalist Liberal Party, they see in the Stalinist LPP, with its twists and turns, not a party of Canadian socialism but a Russian party, an agent of a “foreign power” and an objective agent of the Liberal Party. They know that the LPP has waged an unrelenting struggle against the CCF, not from the left but by aligning itself in the unions with anti-politicals and the boss-minded workers to block funds and the development of political action committees. They have experienced the LPP running whole strings of candidates in federal and provincial elections where the CCF had the greatest opportunity of setting elected -- its campaigns designed as if the CCF were the party of the class enemy.

In the Prairie sections of the CCF there appears to be a certain sympathy to the Soviet Union and the LPP, of a type, we should note, that covers up the Soviet bureaucracy and its crimes against the Soviet Union both as a workers' state and as an integral part of the world revolution. It is a petty bourgeois tendency in the movement reflecting the hostility of the farmers to the US for closing off its markets and, cutting into the traditional Canadian markets — a desire for trade with the USSR, China, and the buffer countries and above all for peaceful co-existence. Agrarian radicalism does not tolerate a ban on any ideas or against any movement including the LPP. But this sympathy towards the petty bourgeois pacifist program of Stalinism does not go to the LPP but finds expression in the CCF and remains in it. At the same time as the national leadership was beating the drums for Canadian participation in the counter-revolutionary Korean war Saskatchewan's Premier Douglas was threatening to go to the electorate on his Bread or Bombs speech.

A tendency which in many respects is similar to that in the Prairie sections is discernible in the BC section, in sections of the Eastern movement, and is reflected in some of the speeches of the leadership. This tendency takes on some of the characteristics of the "Third Camp" line and in many ways represents the beginnings of an approach to a class policy such as ours. It is a reaction against the leadership's policy and the official line of the party which is a crass and cowardly attempt to orient the Canadian working class along the same schemata as the Stalinists would orient the Canadian workers — that there are two blocs in world politics through one or the other of which the aspirations of the masses must be channeled. The Stalinists would subvert the struggle of the Canadian workers to the interests of the Soviet bloc, the CCF leadership to the capitalist bloc.

We of course reject the Stalinist-Social Democrat two bloc theory as well as the Third Camp theory. Our policy is a class policy. We defend the Soviet Union against imperialism and at the same time the world revolution against the Soviet bureaucracy. We do not identify the revolution with its bureaucratic usurpers. While imperialism does not merely combat the bureaucracy but also the Soviet Union and the revolution, the bureaucracy does not merely defend in its own manner the Soviet Union against imperialism, but also its privileges and its power against the masses and against other victorious revolutions. Our policy takes into account both sides of the question.

Taken as a whole CCFers look upon the LPP as a party to the left of their party. While there is no tendency moving in the direction of the Stalinist LPP — in fact everything is in quite the opposite direction — there are no doubt critically minded workers who have had no experience with the LPP who will incline towards that party as a party with more left tradition.

To the degree that we are successful in the struggle to give the broad dissident tendencies in the CCF a perspective and thus in turn make the CCF more attractive to genuine militants, the door will be closed or at least obstacles placed across it to prevent these critically minded workers going to the LPP. The present program of the Stalinist LPP (super nationalist Canada First, for a coalition of progressives including sections of the capitalist class itself has little appeal to such leftward moving CCFers. Were the LPP to take an unforeseen turn from its present class collaborationist line it might have a certain attractiveness, but even then for a dissident CCFer it

would mean to withdraw from a mass movement where there are already considerable, even if disorganized, leftist tendencies, and to go into a small persecuted, harassed group. Within the CCF circles both in the unions and the party there are sufficient forces in opposition to the CCF union bureaucracy and party bureaucrats to keep the fight for a more left policy, insofar as it involves not just dissident elements but broader tendencies, within the party itself in the whole next stage.

As a party, even with its recent appeals for united front from below, the LPP has no influence in the CCF. Nor ideologically, other than it is a reformist tendency, has Stalinism any influence in the CCF. The CCF leadership scarcely advances a radical conception even on national questions not to speak of international matters without obsequiously clearing itself of the taint of communism. The membership, while going along with the leadership's attempts to maintain respectability, is by and large indifferent, unconcerned with Stalinism. While there has been a limited criticism in the CCF of the movement's failure to advance alternatives to such Stalinist fronts as the Peace Congress and the League for Democratic Rights, the situation is remarkable in that there has been scarcely any response on the part of CCFers, secondary leaders or rank and filers, to Peace Congress blandishments.

The big factor to note with the most leftward moving tendencies in the CCF is their indifference or hostility to Stalinism and the LPP, and much of this hostility is for the correct reasons (the LPP's wartime no-strike pledge, its support of Mackenzie King and the Liberals, its whitewash of the Kremlin's concentration camps, crushing of the East German Revolt etc.) This is of primary consideration should we think it necessary to pay more attention to the LPP in the light of what may appear to be promising developments in and around it. To become identified with Stalinism in any way would be to seriously jeopardize our relations with the broad leftist tendencies in the CCF. It so happens that our responsibility as revolutionists to smash the Stalinist LPP — to win workers now in it or under its influence and to prevent workers from moving towards it in the future — can be realized at this stage parallel with our work in the CCF which is designed to smash the reformist influence of the Coldwell leadership over the Canadian working class who are in and are destined to go through a CCF experience.

Aside from our general political exposures of Stalinism whenever we come across workers in the LPP or under Stalinist influence, we should make every effort to give them our orientation to the CCF that is break them from the LPP and recruit them to the mass movement, the CCF. There, in the process of common work, we can break down the anti-Trotskyist barrier the LPP leadership has erected between us and teach them the Leninist program. One of our responsibilities is to give the anti-Stalinism in the CCF, which often takes on a red-baiting character, a clear principled class line. At the same time that this is an exposure of the criminality of the LPP line it becomes an exposure of similar class collaborationist policies promoted by the CCF leadership itself. The more successful we are in projecting the workers in the CCF along the road to revolutionary action, the more all the strivings of the Canadian working class will find expression in contact with us in the CCF; therefore we block the possibilities of the LPP picking up cadre material, the more we pave the road to the elimination of Stalinism from the Canadian scene.

Our entry into the CCF is not predicated on whether social democracy is more or less counter-revolutionary than Stalinism, or whether CCF ranks are closer or further from our program than LPP ranks, or whether LPP workers (who might be characterized as the only forces in this country other than our own that are revolutionary in outlook) have been corrupted with a perverted version of Marxism-Leninism and thus are much more difficult to educate than CCFers who don't have to be un-educated in this and then re-educated. The determination of such matters would be of vital importance if we were discussing fraction work and the most desirable place to do it in — or if in despair we were contemplating the liquidation of the party and considering to where we might direct the liquidation.

However we are neither liquidating Canadian Trotskyism nor are we looking for some subsidiary place to do fraction work in. As Marxists we recognize the dual character of both the Stalinist LPP and the Social Democratic CCF — both of which are fundamentally counter-revolutionary. We have entered the CCF. We have entered it not just because we are small and the CCF is big, not because its politics might be considered to be closer to ours than other working class formations, but because the CCF (certainly not the LPP) is the direction of the class conscious development of the class as a whole — and we are prepared to go through certain experiences with the class.

### CURRENT PROBLEMS

The biggest problem confronting our cadre is — how to develop, interpret, apply, our revolutionary program NOW — at a time when there is a relatively limited pressure from and little or no feeling on the part of any sizeable layer of the working class for socialist action.

Not only are the CCF clubs down to the bare bones, mainly older persons, to a considerable degree divorced from the real problems of the working class and hanging onto the party with their finger tips — but much the same holds true for the unions. While the period following the 1946-47 strike struggles has not been without militant union battles, none of the subsequent struggles developed any breadth and many unfolded in areas where the organized labor movement is weaker and there had been a long accumulation of unsatisfied grievances. Rank and file participation in union activities is at a very low ebb. In the majority of locals meetings are down to a skeleton of stewards and politicals. The union bureaucracy is riding high and fairly free from rank and file pressures, possibly more so than the CCF bureaucracy which is confronted with a more stable political opposition.

When we projected our entry we declared that we were determined to fuse with the masses — not in program but in action! We set ourselves not the task of fighting to give the reformist CCF the revolutionary program of the Fourth International but of projecting forward our transitional demands around which the best elements would gravitate and thrust the movement into action — action which in turn would involve new and more grandiose actions all the time bringing about a process of differentiation in the movement, strengthening the left wing and testing and building the Trotskyist cadre.

At the present juncture when it has not been possible to any extent to fuse either in action or in program with the masses, our work takes on a contradictory and uneven development. With the developing economic crisis, opportunities for limited action of a revolutionary character are beginning to develop that will permit us to advance appropriate sections of our transitional program that can fuse both the CCF clubs and the unions in action. But at this time this hitting into the apathy of the broader layers of the workers and the hostility of the CCF and union leaderships brings about not so much a revolutionary action but a process of differentiation on the basis of a program of action. The program of action becomes divisive and thrusts these workers who are in contact with us and who are influenced by our demands to come closer to us with no experience of action.

At this juncture the main instruments of action are in a debilitated condition. The constituency clubs of the CCF have to be deepened in their contact with the workers. We must identify ourselves with the present level and understanding of the methods of work of the present party membership, go along with this and project limited revolutionary actions. In the CCL-CIO unions where the Political Action Committees have become accepted bodies, even though to a large extent they remain on paper between elections, every attempt must be made to develop them. The PACs can be the rallying point for the leftist elements in the locals or the instruments through which industrial CCF clubs can operate. The TLC-AFL which has been much slower than the CCL-CIO to break from capitalist politics, at its last convention gave the go-ahead for the formation of a Labor League for Political Education. In the TLC locals where we have influence we should press for the organization of such a league first on a local and then on a broader scale. Here too such leagues can be the rallying point for leftists in the locals.

The work of coalescing of forces in the unions and in the CCF clubs, even at this stage when there is as yet limited possibilities of implementing a program of revolutionary action, is extremely important. The more successful we are in aiding this process the more able will we be to implement the program as the opportunities begin to present themselves.

The developing economic crisis in this country is already providing the basis for a favorable hearing of the demand for the sliding scale of hours, organization of the unemployed by the unions, unemployment insurance to the full amount of wages and for the full duration of unemployment, trade with the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Russian workers' state until 1989 – ed.) China and the buffer countries — and tomorrow for the demand that the idle factories be opened under control of the workers. We must be alert to the possibilities of finding ways and means of pressing appropriate demands from our 1938 arsenal and of developing new demands appropriate to new situations in the spirit of the transitional program.

Our movement has been involved in a discussion as to whether the unfolding revolutionary struggles of the masses will be able to prevent, or will be the spark that sets off, the IIIrd World War which is rooted in the economic contradictions of capitalism and the conflict between the capitalist world and the working class character of the economies of USSR (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, creation of the Russian Revolution of 1917 –ed.), Eastern Europe (the "satellite workers' states" created by the advance of the Red Army following the defeat of Hitler in 1945) and China (the People's Republic created by the Chinese Revolution in 1953). We have been



discussing the character of such a war and the possibilities for socialism. As important as this discussion may be, in the determination of our over all strategy, we Trotskyists must not for one moment stop in our anti-war struggle, in our attempts to rally the masses in opposition to the war-in-preparation and all its manifestations. We must be more aggressive in the future than in the past in advancing our anti-war program. We must be more aggressive in our defence of and in expressions of solidarity with the colonial revolutions, in condemning the military appropriations, in demanding a referendum on war or peace, in calling for the withdrawal of Canadian troops from foreign lands. Obviously such an anti-war struggle can be launched only in the conviction that it has some great purpose — that the IIIrd World War can be prevented by the socialist conquest of capital — or should we fail (which it is hardly in place to speculate upon when you are trying to inspire action) the forces are being aligned that will assure the victory of socialism in the war-revolution.

History has given us time to integrate our forces in the CCF to the degree that can be done in a period of relative apathy. We have begun to recruit comrades native to the movement and possessing roots in it on a modest scale, thus widening and deepening our integration in the movement considerably. The mole of history is at work undermining the foundations of the world capitalist order. The crisis of world capitalism is above all the crisis of capitalism on the American continent, the last solvent outpost. The crises that shake capitalism on the other continents are setting up currents that are beginning to wear and tear at the shores of America. Increasing crisis will whip these currents into storms that will pound at the stability of American-Canadian capitalism. Already Canada, one of the leading trading nations, has had its surplus transformed into a deficit — as we write US surplus food dumping further threatens Canadian economic stability. Under the hammer blows of events the Canadian workers will move forward into the CCF — and there we will fuse with them in action.

(End)

**Untitled document by Ross Dowson** found in March 1952:

**On the dissolution of the RWP**, extending our longtime CCF orientation into an entry into the CCF (*Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, founded in 1933, forerunner of the NDP.*)

In March 1952 the independent party of Canadian Trotskyism, The Revolutionary Workers Party, (Canadian section of the Fourth International) was formally dissolved. This dissolution brought to a successful close an action that we had commenced, following our 1951 convention, of extending our longtime CCF orientation into an entry into the CCF. With that act the handful of comrades who had been carrying on the work of the independent party moved to join those who had already been undergoing the process of integration into the mass political expression of the Canadian workers and poor farmers, the CCF.

With their dissolution of the independent party and their entry into the reformist CCF, the precious cadres that had been gathered together since 1928 in combat against Stalinist revisionism of Leninism and betrayals of the world revolution; these cadres, that in 1934 had, under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, joined with co-thinkers throughout the world in the call for a new world party, the Fourth International, which they helped to forge in 1938 — a world party pledged to irreconcilable struggle against Stalinism and Social Democracy for hegemony of the working class — did not change in their fundamental course. The aim of the Canadian Trotskyists, before the entry as now, is to build the mass revolutionary party — the party of Canadian Trotskyism which alone, in alliance with its sister parties throughout the world, can assure the victory of the Canadian and world socialist revolution.

The Canadian Trotskyists dissolved their independent party with no doubts whatsoever as to their historic mission, their historic essentiality. Through an analysis of developments on the international and national arena, the real processes of the Canadian labor movement, they concluded that the mass Trotskyist party, the party of the proletarian revolution, would develop in its next stages through the CCF. Our entry into the CCF had two basic premises: (1) the weakness and isolation of the independent party, (2) recognition that the course of development of the masses is through the CCF.

In July 1951. we put it thus:

“The Canadian proletariat is on the eve of a vast revolutionary upsurge. Impelled forward by the crushing burdens that the crisis of Canadian and world capitalism thrusts down upon them, under the inspiration of the Asiatic and European revolutions, the Canadian workers will flood into the CCF.

“There the struggle against reformism, against the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, against the transmission belts of bourgeois ideology into the ranks of labor, will be joined. As the masses move forward, on the course that they have already set, to flood into the CCF, the internal democracy which has been monstrously curbed in the past period of apathy and disillusionment that has emboldened the Coldwell leadership, will become an even greater reality.

“The struggle for a program that will express the opposition of the masses to the oppressive burden of the war and the encroachments of the Bonapartist state will thrust up a new leadership that will do battle with the Coldwell-Douglas-Millard leadership. The program will be the transitional program of the 4th International; the leadership will be the Trotskyist leadership of the Canadian revolution.”

Not defeatism, not pessimism, not inner doubts about the mission that we had launched ourselves out on in 1938 and the program that we formulated at that time, motivated the dissolution of our 5-year old party, but “utmost confidence and enthusiasm with the knowledge that we are going to aid those workers now in the CCF and those who will be in there tomorrow to learn the method of revolutionary action — that we are going to combat the attempts of the Coldwell and Millard

leadership and the Stalinists to prevent us from forging firm bonds with the workers, that we are on the road to establishing a genuine mass base for Trotskyism in Canada.”

Not only is our entry quite the opposite of a liquidation of the Trotskyist party but it has nothing in common either with any conception that mass pressure will transform the CCF into the revolutionary party or with any conception that the mass Trotskyist party will be created inevitably through the sheer course of events.

April 3, 1952 ✓

Windsor

Dear Don;

I intended to write you some days ago but the paper got in the way...now the printer tells me he hasn't been able to setup any of the material that I have given him so far so I can take some time out. I was really put out to hear from Hugh that you are having considerable difficulty with one of your eyes. We seem to be having more than the usual run of troubles this year. Paddy fell the second day he got back to work about a month ago and is still in the Workman's Compensation Hospital at Malton. Then I suppose Hugh told you about Joe's sickness. Joe is finally back from the hospital again and this time after a convalescence of a few weeks it looks like he will be all right. Joyce has been cuaght in a see-swa of Joe going in and then coming out of the hospital and the same with their little boy who has hymophelia (Spelling) Paddy rode a collapsing scaffold down about 20 feet. He had a couple of gashes that healed and seemd to be coming along fine but for strained muscels which he was having treatments for until he told me over the phone the other day he fained several times. He is now taking it easy in bed but it is possible that his spinal column and the nerves centered along it has been affected. Whatever can be done will be done for Paddy you can be sure for he was on a job that was paying \$2 an hour so he is drawing top compensation—in fact making money hand over fist as long as he is out there

Hugh doesn't say much about just what your difficulty is but I gather it is of the type that we can reasonably expect that any day science will conquer. They are certainly making big strides in this phase of mans knowledge..quite an anomaly but one that we can put up with. The internationally famous Professor Oliphant recently remarked that contrary to public opinion World War II not only put science at large a way back but it even put medicine back too. But I gather that the discovory of penecillin and all the atom work for war has opened up some new fields. Unfortu ately most doctors with the rash of making a living are unable to keep up with all the new developments. I hope you have good medical advise in Windsor. You will recall Angus Sumner and the trouble he had with his eyes. He happened to be in a position to cover in his travels the most skilled eye specialists in America. When here he met an eye specialist whom he told me was extremely competent. I do not happen to have his name handy but I am wondering if you are planning to come inot the big city this Spring. If you are perhaps you could stay over a day and I could make an appointment for you with him.

No doubt all the trouble you have been having has put you out of action politically and trade unionly. I hope Hugh has been able to get around regularly and ~~ix~~ keep you informed. No doubt he has shown you the last two circular letters on the progress of our CCF work. We are moving in very smoothly and quickly here in Toronto. Nothing phenomenal to report for we see the task at this time to get really into the clubs, get to know the activists and win their confidence as persons really interested in seeing the CCF grow. Ken is one of the top two or three in his club in the membership campaign now underway. Myer is also doing a good job. He is in the fortunate position of being in a club that has a long leftist tradition so he is able to go a little further than the others. Jean is in and right now has a hot union situation on his hands. They just got certified at the plant they had been working on for a long time and now the boss is really putting the squeeze to break the voluntary check-off. Unfortunately they local is pretty feeble and they cannot carry out any on the job action so they are being compelled to go to the courts.

So you see everyone is very busy. Right now I am working on a project to see if we can build a working fraction of various ex-members and other unaffiliated revolutionists. known to us ~~in~~ in the Toronto AFL Council.

Barry is still out in Vancouver. Murray is back here but Barry isn't planning to return until late this spring. He has been doing a terrific job out there with our Vancouver comrades. He is in the Stanley Park club of the CCF and he tells me that some of the left are putting the heat on him to step out much further than we wish at this time. As you can imagine this is a tough spot for our Barry to be in--holding back. He says very little about what he is doing with himself other than our political work so I cannot pass much on except that I know that he is enjoying the experience and is really developing as a Trotskyist.

Hugh tells me that the Detroit witch-hunt has been spreading its gloom over into Windsor and demoralizing the militants. But I see that LC is pecking away and making some effect. He sent me that astounding column by Macpherson? in the Windsor Star recently. The more they rant and rave about us the more we know that our work is having ~~some~~ effect.

I see it is after five so I must bring this letter to a close if I expect to find anything left at the house for me to eat. But a last word. Hugh tells me that he has received his CCF membership application back from the Toronto office with no comments. Well I don't think we should bother pushing his case until he gets here and we can talk over what he is going to do....that Dowson name does him no good although I think that the announcement of the dissolution of the party should help some. ..but how about you putting in your and Joan's application. ...even if it only means at this time the paying out of three dollars. Things we can be sure will start to move in and around the CCF

Don't worry too much about that money. I can imagine you are really in the hole from your hospitalization, we are scraping as usual at this time of the year but we are managing to hold off the creditors. I am sure you can hardly wait to see our bookstore. Really quite impressive.

warmest regards

Ross

April 7, 1952 ✓

Dear Barry;

*Brent, (Vancouver)*

I was hoping to receive your long promised letter this morning ~~but I did not~~. We received your note of March 23 and have written the dissolution notice along the line that you suggest. I thought it would appear odd to give the specific date Jan 15th but achieved the same effect by saying that the report appearing in Labor Challenge has been delayed in publication somewhat which covers January 15th but yet doesn't show a three month spread between your letter and Labor Challenge's announcement. OK? The rest of the details on this and related problems are in the last PC minutes. Murray hasn't got them out yet but just so no one would be startled I sent a circular letter out on the dissolution which everyone will receive before getting the April issue of the paper.

Sorry to have given you the impression that I have any alternative to suggest to the action that you comrades took around this problem of dissolution of the Vancouver branch. I see that the last PC minutes give the same impression. The next PC minutes will correct this. Our old minority were very indignant about the dissolution of Vancouver and when the question came up in Toronto of its dissolution one or two comrades tried to insist that this was the problem of the branch and not the PC or N.C. Rather unfortunate the way it came about...that we had got committed to that debate with the SP of C. It is certainly not the best way to make a decision of such a character, the dissolution of the party for that in any way is what was involved by Vancouver's decision, but again things being as they were I cannot think of any alternative that we could have followed.

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I have lots of things to write you about but right now I am ~~xxxxxxxx~~ behind the eight ball. For some unknown reason I am having difficulty squeezing this issue out of me. As soon as we get it away it is Thursday I expect I will drop you a line. In the meantime what is holding you up. I am very anxious to hear from you. array... Havent heard from anyone in Vancouver for a long long time. But this morning we received 100 ~~xxxxxx~~ of the 200 copies of the last issue that we sent out to Vancouver. Do the comrades figure that we can no longer distribute LC out there now with our new orientation, do they figure that we cannot even do house to house distribution in the evening etc. I thought that last issue was made for Vancouver.

warmest regards

Lois

Am sending you the carbon as I fear the ribbon is so bad you would be unable to read the original. Must get a new one.



April 22, 1952

Vancouver

Dear Bill;

(Whitney)

Just a short note before I have to leave for supper. The occasion is that I have finally found time to get to work on setting up the books for the bookstore. Up until now everything has been going through Labor Challenge which should not be. Last Sunday Dick and I went through and took stock and the last two days I have been evaluating it all. Now we are in the last stage...that is tying up the threads on the individual accounts outstanding.

So I am enclosing the statement on the Vancouver account with the Toronto Labor Bookstore. Everything is as it should be on it eh!

Incidentally there have been some new items in the store that possibly you should have—or should be able to convince some one else of us out there should have. For instance THE BENDING CROSS, and excellent biography of Debs, The ~~fourth~~ fourth volume of Capital has just appeared. As you know Kautsky took over where Engels left off. Part of Kautsky's compilation job has been published in English for the first time. It is called THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE by KARL MARX. This is \$4.75 and the Debs book bought up cheap is now \$2.00. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I might tell you now that I have taken the liberty of sending via express to your address 8 ~~unpublished~~ volumes of Labor Challenge that we ~~are~~ have managed to get bound together. I think every comrade should have a volume of LC, really an invaluable source of material, a history of the past several years. We are very anxious that they should get scattered around as widely as possible. The shipping costs were 55 cents a copy and the binding materials at least another .50. So you see they should ~~sell~~ sell for two to three dollars. Why don't you comrades set the price so that every comrade get a copy and expenses are met.

We would like to send you the same number of copies of Volume 1 of bound Labor Challenge but I await your instructions.

I am enclosing a couple of receipts. Thanks

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

April 23, 1952

Britannia Beach, B.C.

Dear Bill; (White)

Murray has been intending to write to you for some while now but other affairs have kept getting in the way and now he and his wife and his household effects are involved in a search to get an new home so I am taking up your correspondence.

But before I forget. I suppose you received your copy of The Jewish Question. We are right now in the process of transferring all our accounts over to the Toronto Labor Bookstore and setting up proper books for the store and I want to verify all accounts. I sent you the paper edition did I not...so that makes you owing the store \$1.25. We have been intending to make this change over and complete separation of the store from the paper for sometime...and am I glad it is just about done.

The store is coming along fairly well. We haven't really yet made contact with the radical book buying public, if there is much of a thing yet in the Toronto area. Most of the trade has been passerby. But I don't let many get away without taking Labor Challenge, have talked a few into buying Socialism Scientific and Utopian, some student types into taking Marxism in the US by the old man etc. We have made two or three contact that promise well, through the efforts of one of our comrades his union is starting a circulating library and we are their buyers and advisors. Local 1000, the Eaton drive local, has bought some stuff from us and a few weeks ago one of the staff members of the UE dropped in and bought a few items after a friendly chat.

I suppose you have received the circular letters that have been going out ~~under~~ Ever PK's name. I hope they are not too cryptic. I think you should have a good idea from them how things are going with our work. The other day I received a note from Ray in PR your old stamping ground. He is in the CCF and is looking forward with confidence to all kinds of possibilities opening up for us. I had a very long series of detailed talks with him when he was passing through on the way back from the TLO Halifax convention. At that time he told me that one of the best fellows in his local was a CCFer and had been bugging him to get in with him. The coming election of course will be providing Ray with all kinds of opportunity to integrate himself in the CCF and make broad contact with the more advanced strata of workers in PR and outlying points.

Haven't much news on the situation in Trail. According to Steel staff members I have been hearing about they are going to take over Trail hards down. They claim to have the majority signed up right now. However Steve on the spot ~~at~~ tells us that the workers are solid behind Mine Mill and Steel is finished. I haven't heard much from Steve for the last while, he was in for the BC CCF convention and has been somewhat tied up the last while. But I gather the verdict will soon be known. Of course you are right about riding along with the local membership in order not to isolate yourself from them. That is the big question for us. The climate is favorable for the raiders but the big issue for us is not opposition to the raiders in principle but to stay with the workers, with the local membership

I suppose the CCF is running a candidate in your area Bill. How is the campaign shaping up? Is there a functioning club now? It would seem to me that there was never an opportunity to get into the CCF make yourself known and respected as there is now. If there is no club functioning, this is also not at all unfavorable. I would imagine Harry Vankuyk and other LC readers in Britannia would be only too glad to give you a hand in distributing CCF election literature, arranging a public meeting for the candidate ~~xxxx~~ etc. All you would have to do would be drop a line to the CCF office.

Did I ever tell you about my experience in building a CCF youth club. This was some 17 years ago when I ~~man~~ first came into the movement, our first entrant experience and when the entry was not on a long term basis as it is now but short term, grab the leftist elements and pull out. I managed to build a youth group of 13 to 14 members. It was a very easy job as the CCF means labor but after that anything and everything from liberal-labor to communist. I suppose you have met Byron Johnson when you have been in Vancouver. He has build a very effective CCF club around himself. The majority are readers of the Challenge and even went so far a few years ago to send in a rather foolish resolution urging that the CCF should affiliate to the Fourth International as the only international and truly socialist body. But there is terrific latitude in the CCF particularly for us with our clear understanding of how things are going to develop in the next few years---

The local CCF should be waking up and be holding out open arms to us to get our aid ~~fix~~ in the election campaign. And if it isn't it should be quite easy around the simple issue of the election to build a club. Of course we would take our time politically...the big task at this time not that of striving for political clarity but of integration. Where we might find it necessary to make our opinions known I think it should only be on the most immediate issues of the day...and it should take on the form of expressing the simplest clearest class line. On the broadest scale today in BC right now that is expressed in working for and voting for the CCF.

Do you hear from Vancouver at all. Do you get in much. It would be very good if in the next few weeks you were able to get in to see the comrades. Right now looking all the way from here I would say the Vancouver comrades are in the midst of the most fruitful revolutionary work they have ever done. If you are unable to get into see them why dont you drop a line to Barry Brent ~~man~~ 431 East Georgia, Vancouver. Invite him up for the week end. He can get away without any trouble, it would be a good experience for him to meet you and to see what a big copper mining town looks like. He is in the thick of developments in Vancouver and can give you all the latest information not only of things there but what is what in Trail. Besides I would like him to meet you and vice versa as he is in my mind one of the most promising additions that our movement has made in many a year. He is used to knocking about so dont worry too much about possible lack of facilities to put him up

There are a couple of other letters I must get away before the meeting tonight so I had better close off. But ~~wary~~ looking forward to reading how you see the new orientation 's application to Britannia. shortly.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

April 30, 1952 ✓

Dear Barry;

*Brent (v.m.)*

Well, despite the fact that I am waiting for your continuation I think you have done fairly good...it must be two or three missles since I wrote you. I have been very much tied up...the major projects that we have tried to squeeze between the last and the coming LC are 1) a stock taking of the book stores, an evaluation and the setting up of books in the name of the TLB, 2) the binding of the second volume of Labor Challenge. The first project is practically completed. The second is well on the way. The last few days I have been trying to get caught up with the papers but last night in the light of your recommendations out there we made a few decisions that take the pressure off that.....so ...here I am at the typewriter...it is 11 o' clock, I have just returned from the barber and tonight the branch meets.

But first the enclosures. The newspaper clipping on the RWP is from the Windsor Star. An incredible job. Vern phoned me yesterday to tell me that there was a news report on the dissolution over the CBC newsbroadcast I think Sunday last. Wilfred List wrote up an item which was given the lead position on the front page second section. There was an editorial in the Montreal Matin which a friend of J's sent in. No doubt there have been many other items appearing in the national press. None of it does us any good but of course it was inevitable. Generally they are not too bad. The Matin editorial was the worst that I have seen and I sent in a reply to it ~~stating in no uncertain terms~~ the fate of which I do not know. Their line was that see the CCF, the LPP and the RWP are all the same, most of it devoted to identify the CCF with the LPP with the absurd statements that the LPP has always supported the CCF in 1945, 49, etc etc. My letter attempted to defend the CCF from this canard. Well everyone knows about the dissolution and while we did not say so it is understood that the banner of Trotskyism still waves but that it is somewhat furled, that we have gone into the CCF. The press hasn't yet made much use of that the slap at the CCF although they will in time no doubt.

There have been numerous comments about the dissolution, mostly to J. Conquergood said that it was a good thing, that the CCF needed us to give it some spark. Andrew Andras made a somewhat similar comment with as query as to whether the paper was going to come out. Local 1000 gang were glad to hear about it. ..Wally is working very close with Ken. Isabel Tomas asked as to the fate of the paper. J somehow posed the question of my membership with Conquergood who sort of brushed it aside that I should join the local constituency club. Some weeks ago I was speaking to Gordon G who you know is an old intimate of Temple. I saw him again last night and he promises me that he would see Temple is the next week and feel him out as to my acceptability. J is going to drop in on Archer who if at all frindly will be visited by me. Murray has made his appearance at a couple of Woodsworth affairs all which takes me into the emergency of this letter which I will take up now at the expense of the many more personal matters I would like to write you about.

The minutes of last night's meeting will be in all of your hands out there shortly but Murray is quite dialatory so I am not too sure what shortly means...and time is of importance here.

On the question of ~~the~~ resumption of publication of the paper, we have decided to delay going to press with the next issue until we can get more information from you comrades and until we can do some more investigating at this end. If we decided to go ahead the delay would hurt too much although it takes twice as much work and time to put the paper out on an erratic basis.

I suddenly find that I do not have the letter you sent in with all your opinions and reasoning on this masthead problem. However that is no great matter, I have read it over four or five times, sentence by sentence and besides I am going to give you my own personal opinions for while we are in general agreement here there are little nuances of opinion...so all in all it is just as well it be completely general.

As I recall Steve is of the opinion that it is just a matter of changing the name at the masthead. That it is just a matter of missing an issue, perhaps three or four and then picking up again. I am in complete disagreement with this viewpoint, all of us here are and from a close reading I gather you are too. You make two points which to my mind are key. 1) that we have to dump the paper because some of us won't be able to get in as long as it exists and others are placed in a precarious position in the clubs they are members of. 2) which is in many ways an extension of (1) that we unable to do sub work, renewal work, seek financial support etc for LC in Vancouver and I would take it that you would be of the same conviction with regards to Toronto.

and 2 are

As far as point 1 is concerned Labor Challenge by any other name would be Labor Challenge. If we called it the Outlook or what you will given the objective situation which I don't not visualize as changing in the next 5 or six months at least to any marked degree we would be placed in the same precarious position and would be unable to do sub work etc. To our minds giving up Labor Challenge means giving up the revolutionary socialist press for an extensive period. The next paper would not be published by us at all. We might well be the sparks for it but it would have to be the paper of a more or less broad left wing, a really native one with some roots. We would be in the position of being contributors to it

So much for Steve's proposal; Back to point 1. If in order to get Reg, Ruth Murray and myself into the CCF LC is the price then we must be prepared to pay this price. However in your additional remarks flowing from a discussion with Reg you pull back on this opinion. I do not have the quote as Murray has your letter at home so that he can write up last night's minutes but you say something to the effect that this has less bearing on the matter than you had thought at the time of the meeting with Reed and Bill. Would you amplify this just as soon as you can. This is to me the key question. If we can get in without being told that we must dump LC then I am absolutely opposed to dumping it even though to some degree it will effect our integration. I would expect to overcome this by being the top membership getter in all Ontario and never pushing LC opinion in my club etc. Possibly there is more data on Ruth's case in the Van minutes but we haven't received them yet. I think we should find out just why Ruth was turned down. After all she knows many of the top leaders on a personal basis and I would think they in a personal conversation with her would let her know exactly what the score was. We are in the process of making such investigations here. If Archer reacts friendly to J I think if the rest agree that I will go up and have a talk with him about LC. We might even convince him that LC has a role to play in a more general way that will go soft on the Coldwell's that will put its line over in a more general way that will really vigorously support the CCF and will hammer the Stalinists and keep dissident elements such as developed around the Fellowship within the Movement, and active. I am on my guard as far as the fact is possible in the work to work out of the club of which we are a member. There are some things that we must be prepared to do in the next period

I am afraid that in order to get some of our key comrades in we are going to have to give up LC but I want to be sure that that is the price. There is of course little question that it would generally aid our integration to drop LC. But I would like to maintain it if at all possible for I do not visualize any kind of a substitute for it coming out of the CCF for a considerable period. There is a contradictory process here to my mind also... the paper goes by and large to CCFers of varying degrees of activity and in this sense it helps build the left. It is also valuable for our own comrades' education. If Ruth is being held off merely for past grudges and doubts of her sincerity she will be able to overcome this very easily in the next two months. No doubt Ruth and Reg are really working in the election campaign on a big scale. I visualize it possible that LC might not come up, just possible, in my case and that I might be refused for old times sake. Of course I would go ahead with working with the community club anyway, working on a big scale on the most positive basis until I was really accepted in the club and the club pressed for acceptance. If then the paper became the question alright we will drop it.



If we have reason to believe that LC is not the basis of our being refused membership then I think we should ~~dmx~~ continue its publication and do whatever is necessary to ensure its effective circulation. If LC isn't made a big issue of then I do not see why we should not do sub renewal work and new sub getting work. Of course we would take precautions. Since we would not be pushing LC in our clubs we have no particular desire to be identified as active partisans of it so the above work would be done in areas quite removed from our constituencies, we have a good idea who are the CCF readers and I already editor of the paper, if I stay in Toronto, could do this sub renewal work. In small places such as Trail where everybody knows everyone and where if we did sub work it would ~~ix~~ be like making EC a big issue in the club would not do sub work (we haven't anyway as you know) is Vancouver definitely against doing sub work and renewal work anyway.

While this question of sub work and renewal work is intimately tied in with the point 1 it is possible that it stands apart in the minds of Vancouver comrades. Ken is opposed to our doing any work of this kind in Toronto. The way you write as I recall this is almost a separate point...you say something to the effect that no paper could operate on the basis of no sub and renewal work. While there is considerable truth in this I think it can be approached in another way. If we are not to do sub and renewal work I think that Labor Challenge as a labor newspaper is of no value anymore...but it would be well to consider its continuation in another form. It doesn't need popular articles on taxation, housing, union incidents but it would take on the character of a theoretical journal ~~say~~ somewhat like the Stalinist National Affairs Monthly...it may be possible to handle such a journal on a every other month basis, since it would be of a more abstract character, not demanding action on this and that it might be possible for various of us to circulate it in the clubs and get subs for it

You see the whole matter is rather complex and we have postponed decision until we hear further from the comrades out there.

Between you and me pal don't you think this stuff about Alistair McLeod is a little off the beam...the skeleton for the left wing and a skeleton with considerable flesh on it too? I am now all the more looking forward to the document you have been working on dealing with our perspective out there. ...all the more I say for I never visualized that it had room for the material you write about McLeod. I do not know how Murray is going to deal with this in his minutes but I will rely on our friendship and the understanding that should flow from that to state my opinion to you, leaving Murray to handle Reg, Bill and Steve.

In my opinion nowhere in Canada in the CCF is there the possibility of forming a left wing. The working class influx that will make this possible and inevitable is yet a thing of the future. While we will do our little bit to expedite the influx of the workers we do not need to worry ourselves about this too much or make any bloc's with anyone who has this same desire—this development is inevitable. Our task as I see it is to integrate ourselves in the CCF. We of course should have the friendliest relations with whatever leftists there are now in the CCF, cultivate their friendship, let them know our views on important issues of the day etc but I do not believe that we need concern ourselves with working on them on any other basis than is feasible in the week to week work of the club of which we are a member. Where CCF leftists may take upon themselves to organize some kind of left in the next period I think it inadvisable and unnecessary that we should have any other relationship with them or their group than on an individual basis. I think we do not take upon ourselves to organize and left wing in the CCF at this time or to expedite the organizational work that any other forces may be taking on themselves. The formation of a left is full of dangers for us—there is no basis for a left in the CCF at this time. It think it would be an error for our group to become a vehicle for the formation of a left. Where such formations might arise we should participate, rather be in touch with them, help keep them within the framework of CCF legality etc. I think it would be an error to reveal to the forces that presently are taking on their shoulders such formations that we have contact with or that we exist as a force in the CCF.

Aside from the individual McLeod I do not understand what work we can do with him, what benefit is gained by telling leftists that we have contact with other leftists like us to some degree across the country. I fail to see what the three of you will correspond about as a bloc. For the work we plan on doing as I understand things is on a club basis.

I do not visualize what common tasks we can set ourselves. I can only see the correspondence taking on a sort of exchange of information character. that we will be writing McLeod as you might write any person you might feel to be a contact. You know you talk about making hurried trips to Nanaimo—to decide what I would ask.

By the foregoing I do not mean that recruiting to our own forces is ~~xxxxxxx~~ out. It is really limited and we can reveal ourselves only on the basis of ~~xxxxxx~~ knowing the CCFer ~~really~~ intimately. But I ~~xxx~~ understand that neither of us is talking about McLeod in this way. We are talking about building a left wing with this one fellow who has one or two simple ideas in common with us and who we think has considerable influence in his local club.

I suppose it is in order to talk about this individual. I know a little bit about McLeod ~~and~~ and of course we both know the anti-Soviet attitudes of the CCF and the Canadian working class. What I know makes me look upon him as a peculiar and somewhat suspicious character. Not many are invited to go to the Soviet Union expenses paid. All reports I have read make him an ~~goddam~~ apologist for the Kremlin not just a defender of the SU. He has had 2 or 3 interviews with his wife in the News and there have been reports in the Tribune. I would assume that the News reports ~~xxxxx~~ are uncensored. Not once has he shown even so much as shown a sensitivity to the belief that is current in working class circles that there is a bureaucracy in the SU, that there are vast privileges for some that make mockery of socialism etc etc. ..this is rather amazing to say the least. On the contrary all his reports appear to be written in the belief that such a thought could never enter into ones head. On top of this he is a supporter of the Peace Congress. You know best how CCFers in BC look at him but ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ my impression would be that he would be a highly suspect element in their eyes. The left on the basis of our experience so far is going to be host to everything that he is. As for his renouncing of the IFA split—everyone has done thus including C.S. Jackson and Pritchett himself, what else could they do

No doubt you have given thought to the possibility that the LPP would find it profitable to have some forces in the CCF. I am ~~not~~ suggesting that we would not work with such forces where we had a common purpose but I don't think we would tell them anything about ourselves, our forces, our plans etc. I myself am dead set against revealing any other forces of ours to McLeod, certainly until we can get a better ~~xxxxxxx~~ picture of this fellow. Then too of course there is the big question which I posed earlier, how we see our work in this next period. This McLeod experience can probably help us all to further clarify our views on this matter.

My eyes fall on a portion of your March 26 letter where you discuss the matter of taking posts in the CCF. Yes I agree with you I think we should take posts, responsible ones, particularly organizational posts, not policy posts.

I am seriously thinking of turning that above letter and the NC report over to our psychologist Arlene. The one you dated January instead of March and in the other you had September I think it was instead of April when referring to Ellaline's minutes.

With regards to your comments about Reg. Is he making preparations to go to the Trotsky school. I answered your comment about the poor branch library and no files by promptly sending out a run of Militants and ~~xxxxxx~~ Samajist and a pile of bound volumes LC. Would it be possible to have Bill set up the library in his home. I gather from Murray that he has lots of space. Could we get him to set aside a corner to put in book cases and keep aside files of the important papers & take out a sub to the Pacific Tribune, the CCF News etc and in a ~~xxxxxx~~ way set up a B.C. office where material is readily accessible. We could send out a considerable number of duplicates we have here of various imprinted books and pamphlets.

Whose work is that resolution on me? Nobody said anything there about it except myself ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to wit that I resigned and did not ask for a leave of absence. We are tacking it on as it stands to the minutes.

And quite repeating that the paper is terrific issue after issue. I am sure you have all kinds of criticisms that are of interest. I am sure that your poem was genuinely received more favorably by the comrades because it is much more popular in its theme and it



its rythme. Sort of in the Joe Hill ballad tradition. In your future anthologies this one will go down as the one composed when you got a car, with its reference to a clutch. I am not so sure that the image of atom cyclones in our hair is such a good one. To me when something is said to be in your hair it is merely a bothersome thing, not much horror or a matter of really crucial concern. Not fussy about the use of the word "dopiley." I think it is one of your better poems although I havent much to measure by as you recall you nenver ever did bring your zionist poems back to me to read as you promised.

A good letter ~~xxxx~~ that you wrote to the Sun. Do you think it possible to encourage our comrades in Vah to take up letter writing to the CCF press, particularly the Saskatchewan paper. They have an excellent and wide open forum. It would be a good experience and besides we have to find new avenues if we do the paper in.

So the great American car bug has bitten you eh. It should certainly enable you to see all that there is to be seen while out there. But take it easy Doc. You know I have some honest and most comradely doubts fully allowing for all your other qualities about your reaction and co-ordination. And it must be pretty much of a heap at the price you paid, affording little protection if you got in an accident and conducive to carelessness since what can you hurt if you do take risks. There are some big ditches out there in B.C.. I read the other day about a Fellow going down into a ditch near Bralorne which was 1,700 feet deep. You must not of course even think of driving that goddamn jalopy back home here, or up the Frazer canyon.

Speaking of back home here. I must draw to your attention that in none of your notes do you give even the slightest hint about returning here in the next few months or ever. Somewhile back you also promised to write me your opinion on my plans as to how we should handle the problem of personell here. I am almost given to wonder if you are thinking of staying longer than another month or so as we had originally understood. Let me know the socre here and the verious factors that go into your opinions. You figure big in whatever I am going to do ~~inxxxxxxxx~~ more ways than one. I had seriously considered leaving Toronto to some point close by like Hamilton where I could be in touch with the center. Right now aside from the political aspects of this matter I am in a highly mobile condition. I expect that the house will be sold within 2 or 3 weeks, that I will have a couple of thousand dollars and that I will have no roots as far as living conditions are concerned. Ruth and Jerry are moving out of 245 within the next 8 days, Murray ~~xxxxxxxx~~ and Jeanette will be out by the 17th and I will be required to get myself some kind of living quarters within the week or two following that. If I were going to stay in Toronto I would get a place where I could put what furnishing I have which are considerable. If I am not staying in Toronto I would just get a room and put my possessions in storage.. We had a bit of an informal talk about 62 and the Toronto Labor Bookstore and we are all of the opinion that we should keep on a full timer, ~~xxxx~~ Of course what becomes of LC is a big factor is dealing with it is problem and this is all in the air. Without LC we still need a full timer but it would be on a much more easy basis. So what are your plans as to your return?

Have you heard from Marvin? He phoned me the other day that he was seriously thinking of heading your way with a friend of his who has that deal of driving out a car for some auto sales outfit. He is dropping down to the office Friday or Saturday to pick up a bound volume of LC that I trimmed and did a real binding job on for you and what clothes you had left down here when you were remodelling the place and that were any good. I have had them washed.

I am sure you are interest ot know about recent developments in Toronto but I see it is 10 to 5 so it will have to be from another letter than this one. I want to get this off so you can give us your opinion on the whole first part of the letter re LC as soon as possible. If I post this at once you might get it Saturday morning and have the week end to talk things over with Reg and Bull and write us your further opinion.

yours

Ross

Dear Barry

On the way down to the office this morning I suddenly realized that I said nothing about why we were holding this issue of the paper rather than going ahead with another which would possibly say why we were ceasing publication etc. in the near future

From various comments that persons have made about the dissolution of the party we are of the opinion that the ground has already been laid for the disappearance of the paper if we think it necessary. Some took it for granted that LC is no more. Other asked what the score was with LC. I do not feel that we need to work up and scheme such as a financial crisis to cease publication. It is already there with the dissolution of the paper. If in our wisdom we think we must cease publication all we have to do is send out a mimeographed letter to our subscribers offering to return their unused credit. If we think that we have to cease publication I think that the most favorable time is now ..with the May issue.

If we go ahead with this issue and decide to scrap the paper in the next one or one after that I do not see why we would have to make it a one pager devoted to giving reasons for the fold-up. I think it can be handled in the same way as we handled the dissolution of the party with a box, short and sweet.

I am enclosing a very interesting document that was presented and generally padded by the Ontario convention. I am sure Reg can learn much from it. Would you return it when you are finished with it out there—no—send it on to Steve and he can return it here. to

I want to get this off at once but just a second—I took the liberty of trying to get you an invite up to Britannia Beach some week-end shortly. Bill is a very valuable man and I am sure that you can get him moving, he already has made some moves towards the CCF. Besides they tell me that the copper town is a thing well worth seeing.

affectionately

Ross

May 2, 1952

Vancouver

Dear Bill;

(Whitney)

Just a short note to acknowledge receipt of the various money order you have been sending in ...I want to get the second batch of carbon copies of a circular letter I have just typed out away this ~~afternoon~~ evening....for tomorrow I must give one of my sisters a hand moving some of her household effects out to her new home. Things are quite upset at 225. We have been busy dividing up the ~~household~~ furnishings arranging to sell the house and some things that none of us want to take away with us. Murray was fortunate in obtaining an apartment without too much trouble although he is having to pay \$70 a month. Everyone else is pretty well settled and will be cleared out by the 17th except myself. I must soon start looking for quarters myself.

Dont bother to send in the names of the comrades who have put out \$1.25 for the History of the Russian Revolution. ~~XXXXX~~ If and when our copies arrive we will send them out all together or at anyrate we can make whatever arrangements are best at that time. I say if for we have heard no further word about this project from Indai. I hope it comes off but if it doesn't we have lost nothing...we did not send them the money. (India)  
We asked them if it was ok for us to make out a draft in their favor which we would release immediately upon receipt of our copies and we have heard nothing. Possibly it would be best not to push this too much until we see what comes.

I assume the \$5.75 is to be applied to the book account...OK

I havent had a chance to go back over the last few months sustaining but if my memory stands me in good stead I think Van sustaining contributions have been somewhat better havent they? The seasonal character of much of BC labor certainly plays havoc with our comrades' income and their ability to keep the ammunition flowing this way doesn't it. What you dont have seasonal employment as a problem meeting the sustaining pledge becomes somewhat of a habit...you allow for it in your spending, you dont have to keep reminding yourself as to your obligation. Regularity must be the secret for our bills come due as regular as the sun rises and falls. I will try to draw up a sustaining report in the next week.

The circular letter that Ellaline will receive about the same time as you receive this will give you a fairly good picture of how things are developing. Bill White will be probably joining the Squamish club. He apparently has good connections already as they have asked him to chair a meeting of their...it isn't quite clear if it was to be a meeting in Squamish or Britannia. I am hoping that he can build a club in Britannia --he has a small core of LC readers around him there who should provide us with a nucleus...the time was never more favorable for such a project. Ray has moved in on the PR club and things look very good. Unfortunately he had to be out of town on union business so missed a ~~xxx~~ out on his bid to get on the campaign committee. His local is pressing the PR Trades and Labor Council to call a delegate meeting and discuss ways and means of setting up a PAC. The Stalinists of course are strongly objecting to endorsing any party although they have to go along behind the CCF PR candidate...the right trade unionists are also fearful of endorsing the CCF but they appear to be willing to endorse this individual candidate. I am hoping that Ray, and this holds true with all our trade unionists, will be able to organize as CCF industrial club in his shop. He says that "Dave and Angus as yet are not in the CCF what the delay is here I dont know at the moment."... At present Angus' local has taken no position but as their delegates are seated at the council they may well be forced to if this happens in my own opinion it should give Angus a chance to do some work there.

I wont go into the details of how things are with Toronto and with Labor Challenge We received Barry's minutes of the meeting you comrades had with Steve, had a long and valuable discussion around them and Murray will be sending you the minutes. There are a few points dealing with your minutes that we would like amplified but I managed to get a personal note off to Barry yesterday and he will have probably talked to you about them.

Hope you get your card Thursday. Is Ruth re-applying or is she trying the technique of really throwing herself into the North Vancouver campaign ~~and thus~~ ending any doubts about her purpose and forcing the club to press the provincial council to give her membership. Of course as Ruth told them in Reg's case—we wouldn't like probationary membership but it is better than nothing. By the same token while we would like official membership it isn't absolutely essential to us at this time. The clubs are loose and if we getting working around them membership card or not we would soon be accepted into them I think and the membership card would come.

And how am I---just fine. The weather is beautiful these days, we are making progress all down the line and I am managing to keep as busy as ever. How are things with you and your family.

warmest regards

Ross

May 7, 1952

Dear Hugh;

I suppose the PK letters are keeping you up to date pretty much on recent developments but I thought I would drop you this note to let you know what is happening at 225 and to tell you that we received the cheque for \$125 alright.

The cheque arrived just in time to turn over a slice of it to the landlord.

All the household effects or practically all of them at 225 have been divided. We did it on a charge basis, charging up against the individual what we figured the value of the article they took to be. Value was on what we thought we could get from a second hand dealer except in the odd case. This means that you will get a bigger share of cash. Ruth is moving out this coming Saturday and is taking everything that is hers with her. That will just about clean out the house as she took most of the things. Murray and Jeanette have taken over an apartment up on Eglinton near Oakwood and will be moving into it on the 17th of this month. I must get busy with an add in the paper.

We put the house in the hands of Ridout's. So far there have been few enquiries. The agent says that the last two weeks were dead all around. There have been a few people through it and one of them came back last night to go through again. She and family seem quite impressed. We are going to try to make a cash deal. However this is very difficult and we may have to take part cash and a second mortgage. The person or persons among us who takes the mortgage we propose would get it at its cash discount value so that if they suddenly needed the money they would get the same as everyone else. We have decided that you along with the other unmarried would get an extra \$100 to make up what mother gave those married. It is hard to say just when we will be in a position to settle accounts for of course it all is tied up in the house. But there may well be a bit of a division prior to that. There is some money around that we will distribute to those who did not take household effects. I forgot to mention that our asking price for the house is 19,800. We had about 5 estimates and that was tops and one made by three of them. We will have to take less for cash. It seems that all the tales about what various neighbours in the area received are just that...tales. From the interest in the house so far this estimate seems to be fairly accurate.

All your stuff of course is going out to Ruth's

The old man has been plaguing the life out of everyone to get settlement on his \$500—it seems that he cannot do anything of any kind until this is settled. Of course he has spent it all...he owes uncle Mort \$300, the hotel that he stays in another \$100 and he owes us through me about another \$100. I hwnet down and paid off his hotel bill a month ago with the plan of getting him into a rooming house at half the price. He went along with it all until the last moment and he is still down at the hotel. I have been advancing him 2 and 3 dollars everytime he comes up. As soon as the estate is settled then he says he will sell his collection in storage and get a job or maybe leave town

Everything should be settled I would imagine by the time you arrive here on your way out west next month.

Received that item by Macpherson—what a screwball he is. Probably some one told you that the dissolution was broadcast over the CBC. The GM reporter list phones me up to get a lot of dope but I didn't tell him where we were going. He wrote us up in the lead article of the second section a couple of Saturdays ago. Not a bad write up. Possibly papers across the country had their say on it. The worst I saw was Montreal Matin. They had an edit using our dissolution to link up the CCF with Stalinism. I wrote

a letter to the editor but I don't know if it was published. None of this stuff does us any good but it was inevitable. The response of many CCFers has been quite favorable. Many have stated that they hope we get in alright.

Don't be surprised about no Labor Challenge for a while. We are holding off publication. The Vancouver comrades are of the opinion that we have to drop it or we are not going to get in...the last best known of us, and that we will through continued publication endanger those who are in. We are in the process of discussing this further with them and testing out here as to whether we think we can get away with it. It is important that we keep it going in my opinion as there is no possibility of such a paper as the Socialist Outlook for sometime in the CCF, until a viable left wing develops. Of course it may well be that the dropping of LC is the price of admission for Murray I and some others. If that is so then we will have to pay this price. For the main task confronting us is to get in and get integrated for the next wave. Until such time as a viable left wing forms and we can publish another paper we can scrape along on the Militant and the FI. We will be deciding this question just as soon as we feel we have sufficient data of the situation.

You might tell Don and M about the situation with the paper. I hope you have been able to get into discussions with them over the letters that we have been sending out under ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ the initials PK. What do they think of all these developments. Is there anything new with them?

Read about the court action with some of the Ford boys. Is the company hiring them back now that they have been cleared. I suppose the rest of them will be cleared. Well we got the go-ahead signal from the Ont trade union committee and the Ontario CCF convention on the industrial clubs project. Even though you will be gone in a month what are the prospects. This is the real field for us to work in the CCF.... the industrial clubs. ~~THE~~

Drop us a line first chance you have.

warmest regards

Ross



May 14, 1952 ✓

Dear Barry; *Frank (VW)*

I was very happy to receive your shall we call it a letter despite its lenght this morning. There is much to be said with regards to a dozen matters you deal with but the bulk of these matters will have to be taken up at a later time. There is one I would like to say a few words about now...because it is to my mind the most important question and I would like you to have lots of time to think it over and write again about it if you feel it necessary.

I am refering to you and your future place of residence. I separate this from the questions as to who is the national secretary and who works full time. I think they are quite separate and can be dealt with this way.

You pose the question as to your return as if it hung on a balance to be weighed, that there was a pro and con. You ~~pass~~ place the decision in our hands. Your placing of it in our hands is in many ways a fine gesture of confidence I suppose. But the former tendency of your letter to sort of place it in the balance with pros and cons somewhat disturbs me and of course invites my opinion to be expressed. ~~Immediately to my mind there is no question that you must return to Toronto...~~ To my mind there is no question that you must return to Toronto...not necessarily next week or even next month but within the next few months. This is my considered opinion and I believe a completely impersonal one.

Most of what you have to say on this matter deals with who should be national secretary whether he should be full time and so forth. I think this is all to be settled once we know where we stand with actual personnel here in Toronto. I am confident that it can be very harmoniously settled and to the satisfaction of all. If one of us feels inadequate, or feels his personal affairs do not permit or anything else I am sure they can all be taken into account. But I am confident that I am right in my opinion that this this question is beyond debate...Toronto needs your brain and the brains of all the persons now here on whatever terms they will give them full time or otherwise.

~~Immediately to my mind there is no question that you must return to Toronto...~~ Since you yourself pose it to me with no decision there must obviously be a few pros for your staying in Vancouver for a more indefinite time. You mention one; the desires of the Vancouver comrades that you stay. You also mention the beauty of Vancouver, some personal relations that you have formed, I know about the unsatisfactory personal relations that exist for you at Regal Road and from there you swing into some comments about your lack of desire to be a professional. I think that about adds them all up. The last point with your permission I have brushed aside. The others I do not really intend to deal with. Not that I am unappreciative of the relative beauties of Toronto and Vancouver or much more serious I would suppose the problem of personal relations. Your knowing my feelings towards you personally should satisfy you that I could only wish the best for you on that score.

I think I am fully appreciative of all these pros...and there may even be some more...but I brush them aside as you sort of do when after mentioning some of them you say "but we will leave all that out of consideration." I leave them out of consideration only because there is something bigger involved.

And that something is the building of a leadership and a center. Ever since we re-organized the party in 1945 and I was thrust into playing a leading role, I set



myself the task of not just trying to ~~xxxx~~ build the party, increase its numbers and influence but I also very consciously set myself the task of trying to build a leadership. As ~~xxxx~~ we have experienced togetehr it is a very difficult task, this development of a cadre, particularly when the party is small and there is little to draw from to shape and form. I fear I have been guache about going about it. I fear Also that I have failed to convince many others about the essentiality of this task To me this has been the big problem confronting our group here in Canada—that many of us did not understand it finds compensation in the fact that even Joe Hansen failed completley to understand it last August. But this is the big task.

For years as you know we have been trying to build the center, even by ripping able comrades out of places where they were well integrated, ...Bradely, Angus, Paddy, Jean etc. In recent letters you have talked about the advisability of sending Steve and Reg down here. On most of these projects we were unable to realize anything but there is no doubt in my mind that the plans were correct. We have to build the center. We have only made a few strides towards building a center and the forces at our disposal are few. You know the composition of the Toronto branch and the potentiality of the various comrades. Knowing this you must know where you fit in ...how essential you are to our future development..how essential you are in whatever capacity you are prepared to serve.

*\*and feeling of helplessness in changing anything in this (superior?) task of building a leadership*

My talk about desiring to get out of Toronto ~~myself~~ is only an expression of a deep feeling of dissatisfaction over ~~personal dissatisfaction with the situation in the party~~—but even here I was only toying with the idea of going to Hamilton where I would be able to come in any week night desired and any week-end Even here I am only toying with the idea for I really feel that we cannot do it. I do not know just how improtent a role Regal Road plays in your personal life but perhaps Hamilton would be a soltuion. Again I dont know how important this girl that you are going with is to you but perhpas even some arrangment about this could be made. I hope that these questions can be ~~xxxxxx~~ handled to your satisfaction within what I know is our broader common desire to build the party—and this requires you to be in the center. Toronto is where we really have to carry out our orientation

Incidently, before I close to get thus off in the mail...I hope you wn't take the sharp line on the KC comments about Alistair McLeod when you discuss the minutes with R and B that you do in the letter to me. The differnece is not near so fundamental as it seems to appear to you...I dont think the PG is capitalizing to bourgeois pressure You know this along with the August convention and differences that came out of it only again demonstrate that we havent made many strides to the development of an integrated leadership and points to the buring need of the concentration of our forces.

Will try and pick this letter up within a couple of days. If you have an opportunity I certainly would like to hear about the Tra il situation. I did not know the Tribune item was a lie. Steve has not dropped us so much as a line since his last blast and threat. Murray keeps intending to write ~~xxxx~~ him but of course Steve has minutes that he hasn't responded to.

all the best Barry

\* "and feeling of helplessness (how?) in changing anything in this (superior?) task of building a leadership"

Ross

May 18, 1952 ✓

Vancouver  
Dear Reg

South-Swamp

Just a line along with the south's minutes that have been accumulating down here. I have been putting the past couple of weeks while we are waiting to make the decision on LG to good use cleaning up odds and ends. By the way where is the bottle neck in these minutes. I never seem to get them back here. Are they going on to PR and Tr alright. Have also been spending a little time on the CCF. I assume that Barry told you about my talks with the Ontario CCF big guns. I have been stalled from making application for membership until the 22nd as that is the next meeting of the constituency that Dave Archer and Bill Temple suggest I join, and the Archer man, national PAC leader Lloyd Fell who is to place my application for membership to the provincial council is out of town at the Packinghouse convention and will be back on that night.

Went out with Temple one night last week on membership work, got one renewal, a poor element and after had a most profitable discussion with Temple. Friday last I went with McAlpine doing contact work in ~~the~~ his riding. We were covering trade unionists fellows who are members of unions friendly to the CCF but who are not members or have had any contact with the local club. The fellow I went to see was in the midst of a beer session with two friends of his. I must have spent over two hours with them, very friendly and managed to give them a real talk on socialism. One of the friends turned out to be an excellent type whom we will be able to go much further with immediately. He is a socialist, anti Korean war. I gave them the works. Temple gave me a batch of names of a similar type, shop stewards etc. This is the first time in years that I have had some good contacts to work on. I am going to see if we can get the club concentrating on this type of membership work over the next period.

On Saturday night we had an excellent movie night social at 62<sup>1/2</sup>. The headquarters of course is perfect for this ~~kind~~ type of affair. The attendance was no hell...we had about 17 there but the atmosphere was good and everyone enjoyed themselves...including your friend and mine jazz expert Dick. We showed Begone Dull Care which is uncolored abstraction to the music? of Oscar Peterson. One of the movies if it is available out your way you should get hold of for anything we might feel it possible to plan or for any union locals we are active in. It is called Unity in Strength. We got it through the National Film Board and Toronto Public Library so it might be obtainable out there. It is on the British Engineers Union and strange to say this time we did not have to have anyone get up to apologize about anything in it afterwards. It was as good as we would have made it if we knew anything about movie techniques. It ends up with the militant unionist setting the objective of unionism to socialism.

Hope you have had a meeting on the question of the dropping or continued publication of the paper, anxious to hear what you have to say in the light of our discussion and our further investigations with Archer and Temple.

Must close to get off for supper.. I am bachelorizing it now at 225. The house is empty except for my room and I will soon be moving on. Drop us a line first chance you get. I have been hoping Murray would be able to write you but he has been very much unsettled of late. Last Saturday we finally moved him into his new apartment so this should start to roll soon. Incidentally the RCMP finally caught up on him on Friday and he is having to get a new job. We decided to make no issue as there is no one who would support such a protest. Going quietly wont prejudice him getting a job, probably this time in a non-war industry.

warmest regards  
Ross

May 25, 1952 ✓

*Event (VAM)*  
Dear Barry;

*PH- \_\_\_\_\_?*

I attended my first CCF club meeting on Thursday night and got a rather icy reception when I came to present my membership application. It seem that Mordan Lazarus has been getting the backs of the local executive up. He told them three of them at the table said that the press has been pounding on his door to see if the CCF has accepted me into its folds just waiting if they hear the answer yes to blast the CCF from coast to coast. They were very hesitant about taking my application. Unfortunately Fell who is the big wheel in the club was unable to attend as his ~~father's~~ mother in law had died and I hadn't been able to see him previously as he had only returned that day from the Packinghouse convention. But telling them what my friend "Dave" (Archer to you) said was the decision at the provincial council they took the three bucks and the form. This resulted in my having to walk home as I was out of car tickets and had only a nickle in change left over---caught without way eh what. They took the application but let it be known that maybe even as a club they ~~would not accept me~~ might not accept me. This was all done without anymosity, as a matter of fact prior to and in the process of the meeting they were quite friendly...but they are Lazarus men and scared rabbits. It is not a bad club from what I could see...all their activities are social but they are quite active and the fellow sitting next to me let me know that he is a socialist from a way back and a proud member of a trainmen's local that is affiliated to the CCF.

So the next night I went out and did some membership work to see if I could really effect their decision. I managed to pick up three new members in the one evening. Two autoworkers one a steward and the other a recent Br immigrant who is quite left---a Bevanite. Both are Massey Harris employees. The other fellow is a steelworker, a steward and a committeeman in the Aluminum Company of Canada's Sterling Road plant. I had a very good discussion with the Bevanite who is most anxious that I should come back again, the other two gave me royal welcomes but the first autoworker is a right winger. I had the pleasure yesterday of presenting these three memberships plus another I got from Joyce which she had not turned in, to the vice president of the club when he called around to pick up some stuff for their rummage sale.. He is a very shy and incommunicative fellow and was in an unholy rush to get away but even he registered suprise over the four new memberships and the twelve dollars. Tonight I am going to phone Fell and see if I can have a short talk with him. Murray was supposed to take this afternoon off to see ex Lovestonite Hatfield who is now president of South York about membership in that club. Murray has a basement apartment up on Eglinton near Oakwood. So things are moving on

But to get to your letter and the various points that you ask I make a point of answering even answering directly. The differences which you see as being pretty serious I think flow ~~from~~ merely from misunderstandings. The question of a Labor Hallenge fighting Stalinism has nothing to do with the question of Macleod and our relations with him...in my opinion.

I gather that you have the impression that I intend or hope to win Jolliffe and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ The kind of Labor Challenge that would win Jolliffe and his ilk's approval would have to be ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ Third Force, Crusade Against Russian Totalitarianism ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ rag graced with the rather proud title Labor Challenge. ...and if anyone put it out with Labor Challenge on its masthead I would take them to court. I never have hoped to win Jolliffe's or for that to win any number of the executive to that idea, which would be in essence a collaboration with Jolliffe who told the Ontario convention that the only threat to the CCF was Russian totalitarianism.

As a matter of fact thro my last few letters I wished to convey to you the idea that I was not at all sure that Labor Challenge was an issue...that I was not at all sure that we are required to drop it. And I might ~~with~~ say that I am still not at all sure that we are required to drop it. I hoped to ascertain this from Temple and Archer and as I told you in my May 8th letter one said drop it without giving me a feel of the situation and the other brushed the matter aside with the comment why shouldn't you continue to publish it. ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ "I never thought to ask him what the attitude of others would be, after all he is smart enough to see that LC has a certain positive ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ CCF role to play—doing a job on the Stalinists, keeping leftists in the party etc. But even though he appears to hold it reins could he convince others of this." ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ All that I think is here is the idea that I am not at all averse to putting a bug in Archer's bonnet just in case there is objection to my acceptance and the continued appearance of LC for him to try an argument that after all LC does serve a positive CCF purpose, it hits at the Stalinists in an effective way etc. I think I once told you that I and others were accepted once into the Workmen's Circle by right wing Social Democrats who were all out for a war that they knew were irreconcilably opposed to on the basis that they couldn't handle some Stalinists and we could. I can speak for myself in this maneuver...I used them and not they me. There is nothing in this above quoted sentence nor I think anywhere else in my letters that should cause you any uneasiness that I was contemplating in making a deal of some type with the Jolliffe's and others to change Labor Challenge in anyway...to transform it into its opposite into a voice for the "Third Camp" ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ Don't you think it just might be that they don't fear us too much and that minor objections might be overcome by a few words by such as Temple and Archer that LC AS IT IS does them a small service. They should fear us of course but they might not like the German general staff letting Lenin through to Russia. You may well think that in the face of the irreconcilability of the coming conflict that the odds are 99.9999999999 per cent against this argument having any effect but even that leaves .1111111111 per cent. How important even this was in my mind is revealed again in the above quote..."I never thought to ask him...after all he is smart enough."

No I don't think this matter has anything to do with the McLeod affair. And since it ~~and such as he to the idea of letting LC continue on the basis of its Anti-Stalinism~~ doesn't add to what ever you think there is in the McLeod affair it may well be that there is nothing much in the difference you feel exists over this.

There are some interesting points you raise about the nature of the future left wing that will develop in the CCF through your comments around the McLeod affair but I think that can well be taken care of later. I gather you think that I am opposed to any collaboration whatsoever with McLeod...this is really not at all the case.

My statement are quite reserved in fact. I have glanced over my letter to see how your understanding could arise. Now of course he is "peculiar" as a CCFer, he is the only one I know who has made a trip to the SU and the only CCF aside from Mrs Sanderson who plays any role in the Peace Congress. But at no place do I say that he is "obviously a Stalinist." as you say I do. I don't know why you should be shocked about my comment



"goddam apologist for the Kremlin" this was prefaced by "all reports that I have read make him." I think that is quite a qualification. I think you misunderstand my comments that you are not at all bringing real differences out as you say. I gather that the misunderstanding is not all on one side when you ask me "You don't talk seriously I hope of 'revealing forces to him.'" Now I must confess that to some little extent I did talk seriously about this. I am very sorry about this misunderstanding but I got it from your addenda to the local NC members meeting report. And looking back at this report I think there was certainly good basis for me to have got such an impression. For you say "when other leading comrades enter the CCF we will put them on our committee at least."

My eye just happened to drop on a paragraph on page 14 one or two, depending on Macleod's reaction.

Here is part of it "In that case..."

Here is part of it "In that paragraph to which I subscribe in your letter I note a point you perhaps haven't given much thought to—that just working in the week to week work of our separate clubs. As we get integrated I'm sure we'll become more imaginative and a little broader opportunities will open up now and then even on the basis of the present situation. I'm sure you would agree this is possible. Here again it doesn't pay to be too categorical. Considerable scope within the framework of our orientation must be left for local possibilities. We want to work like Bolsheviks which on the one hand mean not like scared rabbits either. At any rate I think this difference will be cleared over when you understand we are not .....

You subscribe to my paragraph, there is something lacking in it , you put it in and you are SURE I agree with it and then you talk about some DIFFERENCE. Well I cant keep up with you. I dont know what our differences are . They are certainly not on the reactionary character of the anti-ivist attitude of the Canadian masses etc. I certainly think that the reasons that were given as proof of McLeod's non Stalinism are not valid, this IMA point although I dont know what McLeod is and I am absolutely prepared to subscribe to the judgement of you comrades out there ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I read "You are too I think a little too categorical in your statements about not envisaging any great change in the objective situation for some time." MSA CULPA. Well that may be but I would like to know what this means in the concrete. All the statements that I have made are generalities and I think true. I think it is necessary to have a general appreciation, a guide, leaving sufficient latitude for unevenness of development here or there. I really Barry have no idea why you should say on page 6 "Now you will undoubtedly think I have moved a bit fast Ross" All the preceding is about your recent CCF work and the only thing I have on it from your report is excellent excellent.

I hope your sensing of what I think comes from the comments on Macleod affair which you followed up with the comment, "It should be pointed out that the skeleton of the real left wing has thus already been laid and this skeleton is not without flesh also.... Possibly I should speculate... maybe there is a difference of opinion on the work underway within the Vancouver branch; maybe some comments of mine... some generalities in the PK letters are being used against your viewpoint; maybe you feel that some general comments of mine when translated to some specific situation confronting you mean opposition every

In the process of your discussion which by and large I feel fails to come to grips with my views but only with what you are sensing are mine, there are some statements made which I could well take issue with but I think they are the results of your trying to beat down what you fear may be yielding to the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and going in the process of argument to the other extreme... the crimes of Stalin within Russia are a hardly an issue any more... I can hardly bring myself to criticize the Stalinist bureaucracy I know that you know that unconditional defence of the Soviet Union does not mean silence on the crimes of the Kremlin that during a strike we should cease struggling against the trade union bureaucracy. So we can let this all go by the board.

I hope you won't think I am evading coming to grips with you and your opinions—I honestly and truly believe that somewhere along the line here we have got off the beam and the whole to do is a colossal misunderstanding.

I am really looking forward to reading your document freed as it will be of interpretations of minor and episodic developments and advancing a general line outlining the task ahead for an important part of the Canadian section. While I appreciate that it will be mainly your effort it will be good if you can really make it appear to be a collaboration with the comrade whom you feel has the most potentiality of development out there. Your working on such a document can be a real education for some comrade. I see no hurry for the document except from one point of view. If you really feel that there is some real difference of opinion with us it might be good that it arrived here several weeks before you left(?) for the East so that you could be there in Vancouver for the discussion around any contribution that may be made from this end. That would mean that your contribution should come out as soon as possible but otherwise I see no pressing need for it.

I was glad to get the minutes along with your last letter. Ellaline sent us a batch of three some months back and I haven't had a word from her since although I dropped her a couple of lines. I was also glad to hear the odd details on your work..the big to do you are arranging with Bury, that there was a left wing caucus at the BC provincial convention etc. You know this is only information of any kind that we have been receiving about the activities of the comrades and what is doing in the labor movement. in BC. Murray finally got a letter off the Steve over and above the flock of PK, executive letters that we have been sending him and have remained unanswered.

Things are fairly quiet in To these days. Joe attended the first branch meeting in months a few weeks ago and making his despicable use of the chair against me during a little bit of cross talk just about knocked everyone over since everything had been more or less harmonious during his lengthy absence. With J's absence and Murray's addition we have just voted the CCF and trade union caucuses out of existence every time any effort is made to throw some of this work off the floor into the caucuses we just vote it down and discuss it out on the floor. I think that the old gang is more or less resigned to the fact that this is all now by the board. Now neither our trade union sp is in a shop, both are completely on the side lines of everything and in recognition of their position they say very little. Dowling proposed to Jim that together they would build a CCF industrial club against the incumbents on the PAC, we are having to work with the bureaucracy something which Joe just can't bring himself to do I would gather. At anyrate the few times it has come up he slouches in his chair totally incommunicative.

Joyce is of course under terrific pressure, Joe is not able to work yet and their baby is as bad as ever but she has learnt a thing or too. Jim and Kit had developed considerably. Ed is drifting around and everyone lets him do so. They now know that they were all wet. Of course they have never ever formally recognized it and who cares but they know it themselves and they are very quiet and uncertain. They tend to function like scared rabbits to use your term in the CCF but I have adopted a policy to let them do what they want, so absolutely bitter have they shown themselves to any suggestions, criticism or advice. They don't harm us anymore, it is debatable if they do us any good but what matter. We will take what we can get. Vern is coming around again. He phones me every other week for a discussion during his fifteen minute afternoon break. He came and ran the machine during our movie night a week or so ago. He has brought his brother around twice in the last few months for discussions and is reading again. Unfortunately he lives a very great distance from town, he is looking to see if there is a CCF club in Peel. Gordon has finally handed me his application and dough for CC membership. And I think it possible that shortly we will have him back. Thought you would like to know the present situation.

Just finished phoning Temple about the three members I got his club. He is really overwhelmed. Now I must get after Fell to see if I can further ease my way so I can start to do some work along the line of our orientation.

Drop us a line any time you have the opportunity. Maybe instead of sending me a book letter like the last you could send me a serial

Yours

Bob

June 8, 1952

Dear George or whoever is editing the Militant;

Just last week we decided ~~in~~ in majority that what with our new orientation we would be no longer able to publish LC. We do not believe that there will be a substitute job for some extensive period either. In view of these two facts we have a proposition that we would like you to place before the board.

We would like to submit material for publication to the Militant and to the F.I. The material we would propose to submit would be on Canada or on problems confronting the North American working class.

We have for many years intended to submit material for both publications ~~XX~~ for I think you will agree that both should carry material on Canada. However up until now this has not been possible of realization on our part. Whatever time I had from other ~~XXXXXX~~ work in the past few years has been devoted to making LC more and more Canadian. We have very few writers and it has been all we could do to handle LC. Now with LC's demise all this has been changed.

As things stand now we are in a position to submit material on a regular basis, to accept assignments or if you wish to write a weekly column. The quality of the material is well, there is LC for you to form your opinion on.... to be specific, the ~~writing~~ contributions of Paul Kane and myself.

In my opinion this proposition ~~is~~ is a good one--for both of us. Until we are able to publish or participate in the publication of a LC substitute we intend to make much more use of the Militant and the FI than we have in the past. Through our bookstore we are going to solicit subs to both and ~~push~~ individual copy sales. In our new field of operations we intend to work with both although in the next period we are going to have to be extremely careful and results will be limited. We hope to help you increase the circulation of both publications. <sup>It</sup> would be much to our advantage, to our common cause, if both publications carried Canadian material either on a regular or from time to time basis.

I haven't given a great deal of thought to the exact nature of our contributions but I have a few ideas that might be worthwhile broaching at this time to aid you in considering the whole proposition. As things stand now although we are a little uncertain about the employment of our personnel we could handle a weekly column if you think it worthwhile to devote that much space to Canada. The column I would think should deal with what is happening in Canada, news, ~~important~~ news of importance to the American workers in their struggles—I think it would be extremely valuable to play up the achievement of the CCF, the precursor of the American Labor Party. My impression is that American workers and I think this would hold to some degree with even Militant readers are woefully ignorant of Canada, its revolutionary traditions, its place in world affairs. It might be a good idea to start off with a series of background articles supplying data on the structure of the Canadian labor movement, its relations with the US labor movement, the role of American capital in Canada, its influence in Canadian politics, etc. ~~Then~~ picking up important developments of interest to American readers from our Canadian correspondent.

Many FI readers here have commented on the excellence of William F. Warde's contributions on early American history and its revolutionary traditions. I have been doing some research along parallel lines. The American revolution of course had enormous repercussions on Canada. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I would be prepared to work this material.



up for submission to the FI.

If you were not prepared to handle a weekly or fortnightly column in the Militant we would be quite happy to handle any assignments that you would care to make from time to time. Or to submit with some regularity ~~maximizations~~ material which we think would be of interest to Militant readers. If you agreed to a column, particularly one with background material we would like to get a couple lined up in advance before you announce publication.

Of course the details of approach and content can be taken up in future correspondence once the board settles on the general proposition. I am sure several of you particularly George C have many ideas which we could discuss and I work on. Hope to hear from you shortly.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

June 9, 1952 ✓

Windsor  
Sally  
Dear Mary:

Sorry we couldn't make it past week-end. The scheduled trip went through two cancellations. Jean has been intending to go to Windsor for some while back and suddenly decided that he could make it last week-end. Then Joyce reminded us that we had planned a social get together at Vern's new house out at Cooksville on Saturday. We cancelled the trip then Joyce phoned back a day or so later and said she had looked up the minutes and found she was wrong it was the next week-end. So we go ahead and make all arrangements to leave early ~~Monday morning~~ Saturday morning when Jean learns that he has to be in Hamilton on both Saturday and Sunday to help sign up some fellows in some furniture plant to meet a deadline on certification.

I would very much liked to have been there last week-end. Particularly since you will be leaving in a week or so. It is very important that the center keep contact with our Windsor comrades—a job which you have been doing over the past few years. It is too bad that the farewell supper that Shute held for you turned into a wake. For the re-orientation of the party is all of quite the opposite of the "finish of our movement in Canada." It is actually the beginning of the movement. Up until 1948 when labor really moved in on the CCF we had been carrying on more or less in the dark not knowing actually where the working class and ourselves were going here in this country...how the path of the formation of the mass revolutionary party was going to unfold. Now we know the direction of the workers advance—through the CCF—and now we are in it where we should be aiding in this advance. Laying the basis for the mass revolutionary party. To have kept the independent party certainly would have been "the finish of our movement in Canada." Nor can one look on the demise of the paper with emotion—with regret. The majority of the executive considered that it stood in the way of our entry, that it prejudiced our integration, that we could not properly service it without running the greatest risk of prejudicing our main effort. Well if this is so then of course LG must go ...and it is not at all a matter of regret.

You can certainly assume ~~everyone~~ to cease wondering if we are going to give up the bookstore. We are not. As a matter of fact with the formal dissolution of the party and the cessation of LG the bookstore has a much more important role to play. Another comment on this flimsy of our movement stuff. The comrades here and in Vancouver are busy, in fact even busier than ever before—they show no signs of being finished. Tonight we meet, Wednesday the Capital class meets, Saturday night the social, Sunday night we have started a special series of educationals, each of three meetings, the first dealing with the British working class movement and Bevanism, the rising tide of the British revolution. Quite a busy week eh. Thursday I go out doing membership work for the High Park club. Three of our overcourt people go out with the club canvassing, tonight our St. Pauls comrades are out doing membership work. I went out with Ken one night and made contact with the open sesame of a CCF card with a very worthwhile fellow, a real contact. That night I had the opportunity of holding forth with our ideas to three autoworkers and two of their wives for over two hours. We are now not having to talk to ourselves. Two Thursdays ago I met during my own canvassing a steward in the Massey Harris tool room by the name of J. McFalone. He knew you. I signed him up. He is a right winger, poor element but he told me about another Massey Harris fellow down the street who is a Bevanite. I got him signed on and he was it turned out an excellent type. He is anxious that I come back. A real leftist.

Murray managed to get an apartment up on Eglinton near Oakwood and a job at the CCM plant. We are already laying plans of taking in a pile of persons whom we know up in that area into the CCF with us. As a matter of fact with the new turn we are going to be able to activate many persons who have been inactive for a long time.

Of course I wouldn't suggest for a moment that it is all a bed of roses. The Parkdale club has refused to accept my application and Lloyd Fell tells me that the Toronto District Council is opposed to my acceptance by any club. I tried Parkdale as Archer was going to arrange through Fell for my acceptance. Now it looks like I will have to try Greenwood which appears to be willing to accept me, or High Park. Even then I am not to be accepted by the Provincial Council which has decreed that it will pass on the applications of any well-known Trotskyists. But no matter, we intend to work for the CCF membership or not. ...we will hammer the doors down. I have turned in five new memberships. Temple has given me names to cover in his riding and I am on the best of terms with him. He says his club will accept me but we tried the Parkdale deal with his consent as we thought we would have a better chance of being accepted by the Provincial Council from there. Temple's name is mud in the Provincial Council following his struggle at the last provincial convention. If my membership is turned down I can work through the High Park club anyway. I will re-apply later on again and again until they have to accept me. But if one can form connections the membership card while a valuable thing is not essential. For you comrades in Windsor with your membership in the locals and the PACs there are all kinds of opportunities waiting to be found even if the Windsor club turns thumbs down.

It would seem to me that the big thing anyway for all our industrial workers is the industrial clubs that the CCF convention a few months ago gave the green light on. PE wrote you about them in his circular letter of a few months back. You will recall that in a Hamilton steel plant of about a hundred workers a club of twenty was formed in no time. You will also recall that that is the type of activity that Murray carried on in his DeHavilland days...he built an industrial CCF club. I am sure that there are elements in Windsor who would become our ballies in this task. While this possibly may be the only field open for Don if the residential club rejects him it is consoling to know that this is the best field anyway and one that can open the door to the residential club in the future. I know of course that the residential club in Windsor is very poor as Maurice never tires of testifying but this will be overcome with an influx of new elements when the time turns. In the meantime we do not sit on our thumbs but work all avenues available, I myself am truly inspired by the possibilities--particularly this contact work. All clubs in the Toronto areas have lists of persons in Stellauto and other assorted unions friendly to the CCF. We have been canvassing these lists. Of the four guys that I recruited the first night one was that Bevanite, two others were shop stewards. Amazingly enough then I was given the name of a young woman Steelworker who lives next door in Appleton's basement apartment. I called the other night and she was in a hurry to go out but very friendly. WE HAVE FINALLY FOUND AN AUDIENCE--WE HAVE PEOPLE WHO WILL LISTEN TO US PUT FORWARD SOME OF OUR BASIC IDEAS. It certainly is great after all these years of isolation.

Wait till you get the report we are expecting to receive from the west right after the wind up of their election experience. It might be a good idea if you told Shuste of the contents of this letter. Of course all this above stuff is on the QT. It would be very bad if any of the above details found their way into the hands of the CCF tops. I think we should try to get Shuste to go to work in the CCF. There is no doubt a club out his way. While there are limitations to what he can do it is good for us to have every friend in there...we never know when we need them to provide us with aid and support.

What is Maurice doing these days. I sincerely hope we can convince him to return to the CCF and give us what aid he can. As for you Don and Joan I would like very much if you could sit down and talk over how you can aid in this all important work. Possibly you will be coming in shortly and we can talk it all over. Can you come in with Hugh. You know we have lots of room now to put up anyone.

There is no thing about this work that is very dangerous and that is that we tend to loosen our connections, particularly now that the paper is no more. It was a great puller together. But if we keep alert to this danger all will be well. We must keep in close contact and discuss in detail all aspects of this new work we are moving out into. While we haven't our paper we still need everyone's financial aid too. We want to keep the bookstore and of course it runs at a considerable loss. We want to keep the headquarters as we certainly need a place to hold our many meetings here in Toronto and we need a place to carry our correspondence from, keep our files in etc. We must keep one person as before on the pay roll and ever attempt must be made to increase his salary. It will probably be Barry or Murray with me going into industry for a change. I just got a letter away this morning arranging for our full timer to become the Militant Canadian correspondent and an occasional contributor to the FI. We will try to switch as many of our readers over to the Militant as possible....in fact we sent along a note to this effect with the announcement of cessation of Labor Challenge. We will also ~~fixxxxxxx~~ with care try to get subs from the better elements that we meet in the process of our new work. And of course it is to our benefit to have considerable Canadian material in the Militant if they can handle it.

Well I am hoping that you can all come in together when Hugh heads this way. I would like very much to talk about ~~what~~ the situation in Windsor and what can be done and of course at the same time to meet you again and treat you to a meal at the New Westminster. By then I hope to be in the chips.

warmest regards

Ross.

Incidently I think you should give up the box and transfer all correspondence going there to house addresses. As a matter of fact I have already had to notify the Post Office that Lc is no more so that they may automatically cancel the box. We had to notify them in order to straighten out our second class mailing rights.

June 19, 1952

Britannia

Beall BC

Dear Bill

White

I was glad to get your note ~~coming~~ early in May there about Squamish CCF and their invitation to chair one of their meetings. How did everything work out when the campaign finally got underway? I haven't seen any election breakdowns as the BC CCF NEWS hasn't arrived yet--then again I suppose there won't be any until they get into counting the second choice ballots

From the reports that we have been receiving from the capitalist press I can imagine that things are very favorable for us out there--the election shomozzle and now the IWA strike. Wismer was reported as making a very candid ~~and~~ defence of the preferential voting system--it proved itself for after all it achieved its main objective--it kept ~~unlike~~ the CCF from taking power with a straight majority of seats. Winch was reported to have made a militant comment rejecting the idea of coalition out of hand--an irreconcilable conflict between the socialist party and all other parties. I gather that the CCF is conceded to take the majority of the 20 seats they are leading in. It would seem that the BC workers are in for a lesson on the nature of bourgeois democracy. In the series of stalemates that will develop the CCF will have lots of chance to put forward its line...the other parties whether they like it or not are going to be forced into coalition or face the electorate again within a short time. We will have to follow the parliamentary doings of the "inch gang very closely--in the next period the workers will have their eyes peeled on the Victoria house and everybody's doings there. We may well be in for a wave of political struggles, demonstrations and strikes--something the character of which is very rare in relatively posh continent of ours.

And right now we are having some quite terrific economic struggles. Are there any loggers in and around Britannia or are you solid copper? We will probably be getting a letter from Vancouver in a day or so. No doubt our comrade Dick is doing a good job in whatever camp he is in--if he can work up interest to the tune of a 100 copies of LC going out to the boys in his camp, in a situation like this he is no doubt a house afire. The carpenters and building trades solidarity strike are quite inspiring too ~~xxx~~aren't they.

I know you must be quite busy but I wonder if in the next few days you could squeeze out the time to write us a detailed report of the situation with regards to the CCF in the Britannia-Squamish area, what you were able to achieve during the campaign and just what possibilities you think there are--your plans. Vancouver has been holding up a document on perspectives out there until they could see how it stood up under the election experience and they could digest the results and their effects on the CCF ranks. I want to get out a circular letter and it would be invaluable to have a contribution from you, from PR and other points.

Thanks for the batch of sub renewals. One wouldn't mind in the least giving up a paper that was a flop but LC was such a success in many ways--your two one dollar renewals--we mailed out about 100 copies of persons whose names appeared in the SASK CCF paper and got six subs just last month. No paper and all, the CCF club that I applied to is keeping me off. A group of the executive members including national CCF PAC director Lloyd Fell suggest that I should join some other club. But things are moving more favorably for everyone else and I think I will be able to get into another club--in fact Fell even recommended another one which he appears to have consulted and got a favorable reaction from. Well we are now in the position of cultivating the ground for a paper which will have a much bigger base

What shall we do with the submoney that you sent<sup>in</sup> on behalf of S. Barber and H. Horsting. We sent them a notice that ~~THEIR SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MILITANT~~ the paper had ceased publication and that we would return all funds on request. They have not got in touch with us. If it were only two-bits it would probably be just as well to ignore it but it is a dollar in each case. Maybe they would like to take ~~XXXXXX~~ a substitute subscription to the Militant. A six month sub to the Militant is \$1.25. The address is 116 University Place N.Y. 3. just in case yours has run out recently. Thinking it over while typing I have concluded that it is probably best that I send the money back to you for disposal. So here it is.

Has Barry been up to see you.? If you think it is a good idea to invite him up and you are planning to do so you had better write him in care of Reg very soon as he recently wrote that he was leaving shortly after the elections.

This morning, June 20, we received an interesting report of PR experiences in the election and the CCF. Very very good. Vancouver sent in the latest returns from the SUN and probably their experiences and analysis will be along in a few days. As soon as we get in, along with yours and other points I will be able to get the circular letter out to everyone.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson



June 25, 1952

Vancouver  
Dear Comrade Spencer;

Sorry to be so long in taking up your letter. I was hoping that Murray would be able to dig in here but his job seems to be taking pretty well everything out of him. He is now working at a UAW plant here which only recently winded up a three month strike. Contrary to the usual boss claims the company didn't lose orders but is working overtime now to catch up. Murray is entrapped in this working till six o'clock every night and having to go in to work Saturday morning. He expects it should peter off in about a month.

I will certainly make every effort to remember to use proper names in our correspondence. The incident you report is a most unfortunate one, particularly that it should happen with a sympathizer and one who gives money too. Incidentally who is it that gives money to the south when the north is in need. I always burn a bat when I read about donations to the FI and Militant from persons who give very little to us. ~~REDACTED~~ Your security proposition with regards to the PK notes that circulate thro the group, that is that they should be returned to the center for destruction, is not to my mind very feasible. That would mean that they would probably hang around various homes until a next letter was sent. I think it best that it should be left in the hands of the recipients many of whom have no one to communicate the information to and can destroy the notes immediately.

Glad to hear that Angus will be in there this month. Unfortunately he has ceased corresponding with us here. But Ray has picked it up. Ray is really developing and did an excellent job in the recent elections. What with his union in the midst of negotiations he will probably be dropping into your town. I have written Bill to get him into town right after the elections to compare notes and also Byron. I see we think along similar paths. At the same time I have asked them to write in detailed reports so that we can exchange information via the PK letter. I hope they respond to the weekend I gather you are arranging with Seattle. Byron has been silent a long while but now with the IWA strike he should have some time to write in.

I have been sort of waiting the past two weeks for word from the south as to whether they will take one of us on the staff of their paper but have heard no word as yet. In the meantime with it being so hot these days out on the streets and so refreshingly cool here at 62° we have had an unusual number of comrades hanging around. So we went to town on a project I have long had in mind but one we were never able to find time to work on. That is lining up the great welath of material that has been buried in the great stack of internal bulletins that we have had piled up in various corners. We have spent the last three days going over them, sorting them out, unstapling them and binding them. Eventually this completed I hope to index them for in these international, SWP and Cdn internal bulletins is some of the most important material ever written by the Marxist movement. Bound it is now easily accessible to all. I have just sent off in the mail a bound volume of all the Cdn Internal bulletins put out by the RWP. Would you see that it is put with the rest of the movements files, wherever and in whomsoevers hands they are. I have the impression that El has that material and I have been sending here Samajist papers etc but I am sending them out you as probably no one is home at here place if she still works days to take in the mail.

In the sorting out process we found that we have a goodly supply of duplicates. They are much in demand here in TO but first before turning them over for sale to comrades here I would like to be sure that we have as complete a file as possible out there. Is there some one who is the archivist appointed or otherwise. I am enclosing a list of duplicates which I would appreciate your turning over to him or her to check off what you have there.



You can have as many of these as are necessary to fill out your file at no charge of course. Would the person whose job this is get after it first opportunity for I would like the clear up the place

I am enclosing a couple of ~~xxx~~ receipts that I have neglected to forward to you before.

Incidentally would you take care not to lose the list of bulletins enclosed. Send it back with the ones you need to complete your files checked off.

Looking forward with anticipation to your analysis of the election results and to a detailed report of how and what we did. It all must have been an excellent experience for us. Made to order for us at this stage of our work. Here things are very quiet. Most of the clubs have closed up for the summer---but we of course are going to make our own activity. The details from this end I will send out in a letter over the week end probably thro Markin or Blake whom I havent written to for some time.

I see Gastonquay is of the opinion that all parties will more or less hold their first vote standing on July 12. This would put the CCF in an excellent position to form a government attempt to pass legislation which will draw the sharpest lines between the people and the boss parties and upon defeat go to the electorate. They could ~~xxx~~ arrange it so that they would really be swept back into power. But enough I will be seeing your evaluation of things I expect any day now.

warmest regards

Ross

June 25, 1952 ✓

Vancouver  
Brent Bulllock  
Dear Barry Reg and Bill, Whitney

Ford is shut down, the workers at Moor's walkout and dozens of other plants have had their productivity cut ~~down~~ a way down—due to the heat—but 62½ keeps grinding away as usual. This isn't due solely to the high purposes of the personell employed therein. Outside the door it is 90 and more degrees but inside 62½ the atmosphere is cool refreshing, invigorating. Our productivity has increased for it has become known that we have a refuge here, visitors increase and devious ways of exputing them to work are developed. So far we have managed to sort, unstaple and bind in a very durable and accessible ~~hick~~ way the scads of internal Cdn, SWP, and intl bulletins that have been heaped in corners down here. A sample copy of Cdn internal bulletins has been shipped to Bill for your files out there

We are keenly anticipating receipt of your document on the mass movement and our perspectives out there. So far our picture of things is limited to Reg's recent letter a very good report from Ray and a few comments from Magna Bay. We hoping to get reports from Milnes L and From Britannia shortly in reply to our queries. Trail remains as before, ever since the trip, blanketed in silence. Have many thoughts of my own on the fary favorable developments out your way there but they can wait until you on the spotters say your peice. In the meantime I thought I might let you in on recent developments down here some of which we would not probably write up for our circular letter.

But a diversion. Trail. I think the continued silence of Steve has now reached proportions that can no longer be ignored. I do not know what contact he has with any of you comrades but he has absolutely none with the center...no explanation, nothing. ~~Max~~ As far as the center is concerned it would appear that he has carried out the threat of March 5th.. "Indeed we shall go so far as to state that unless some satisfactory and acceptable means is developed that this deplorable situation can result only one solution." Since then there have been four or five circular letters internal bulletins, several personal-political letters from Fritz and I and absolutely no response. I see that Reg is writing to him, ~~fine~~ fine. If he has diverted all his contact to Vancouver the situation is not too bad and can be rectified by you from you end. Whatever the problem with a little time you can overcome it and manage to put him in contact with the center again. However if he is not in contact with you I think that we should discuss this matter among ourselves and see what should be done. After all he ~~was~~ was honoured with the responsibility of a post on the executive. Furthermore he in my opinion very badly needs a close tie in with the leading and more experienced comrades. He is in very leading and key positions where his conduct can have serious bearing on our BC work and where he is particularly subject to various pressures. We have had no discussion of this matter on the committee but I intend as a member of the executive to raise it. Perhaps one of you would like to drop a line about your opinions on this matter so that the best thing will be done about it.

Generally speaking things are quiet down here. The mass movement has pretty well folded up for the summer...and of course this seriously limits our activities in and around it. As compensation we are attempting to step up our own educational work. Our Capital class still goes on although this involves few. We are holding classes of three once a week meetings. Topics are those which do not lend themselves to branch educationals due to the extensive ~~XXXXXX~~ material that should be covered. Right now I am getting ready to give the second of three classes on The Coming British Revolution. After this class finishes we are holding one on China using the great wealth of material that has been coming in via Internal Bulletins. Of course we are continuing our regular branch educationals—last week we had a very stimulating one, the application of our transnational program to the various problems that are being discussed in our CCF clubs.

Two topics--housing and health programs were picked and a comrade struck off to handle the problem in a ten minute speech, ready to answer all questions, the speech particularly prepared to handle classic arguments against socialized medicine and subsidized housing schemes. One of the comrades not so well prepared or maybe not too familiar with pseudo leftist and rightist opposition arguments was heckled considerably and everyone enjoyed themselves.

Of course we are not content to let things slide ~~within~~ in our CCF work until the fall revival of the clubs. We are trying to find avenues of activity. What we wouldn't do for an election right now such as you have had. Were we have made contact with leftists who appear to have possibilities of development we intend to put aside considerable time to making personal contact with them. One of the clubs or at least the best elements within it, intend to continue with door to door canvassing that they had been doing and we will be right in there. In another club we have managed to get lists of all the union activists in the riding and we intend to call in on them to talk to them, sign them up for the CCF and if it seems feasible to arrange some informal get-togethers to discuss union problems. This latter proposal seems to me to be the best ~~field~~ field for activities. It is ~~definitely impossible~~ to activate the clubs themselves into anything such as street corner meetings etc. What work that will be done will be done by a few activist elements under our inspiration or by our own comrades alone. After I finished trying that previous sentence however I recall that one of the clubs which is fortunate in having an MP is arranging to have the MP prepare some speeches and to appear outside bigger factories in the riding at the noon hour to address as many workers who can be brought out by a leaflet distribution made that morning. We will have to use this as a lever with other club executives.

Here is the latest on my and Fitz's case. Fitz has signed a membership application in the riding where he resides. He did so at a meeting that was held by the MP of the riding to hear a report of the last session. He was very well received. Of course he is known. He was taken around and introduced to various persons by an old school teacher of his who is a natl council member, a right winger. The MP who also knows who he is was very glad to take him under his arm to ~~assist~~ in the arranging of the factory non-hour meetings previously mentioned. It would appear to us that there is not going to be any difficulty here. We feel sure that the MP and the natl council member who certainly know him would not welcome him so and fit him into their plans if he wasn't going to be accepted.

Your truly is an altogether different case. I have just heard but not been officially informed yet that the club to which I applied has decided to ask me to withhold my application for sometime, possibly a year. Here hangs a rather involved ~~tail~~ involving the packinghouse bureaucrats. As you will recall I applied to a certain club on the advice of a leftist trade union leader here who likes to appear to be a friend of ours. He was going to fix it up with another trade union bureaucrat high up in the natl PAC who runs the club to have me accepted and thus my name would go before the provincial council with good recommendation. I attended a club meeting where I made application and where my trade union "friend" was absent. The local big wigs when I made application were all a dither and held an informal debate right then and there as to whether they should take my application. It appears that the provincial secretary warned them that I was a head in their way and to be on guard. They took it, in the meantime I tried to contact my trade union friend who was always out of town. Finally when I managed to meet him he voiced his surprise that I had not received a visit from an activist in the club concerning my application. No matter he would tell me the story so we went into the office of the packinghouse chief for about a 15 min session. There it up the executive had struck him and an activist off to place before me the following proposals 1--that I should put my name to a statement declaring my adherence to the principles of the CCF 2--that I should place my application with some other club--here they supplied the name of one which they assured me would welcome me. 3--I should hold off my application for a year until the issue of my past dyed down. I had a very friendly debate over these proposals in the process of which the first it turned out was not to be a statement of acceptance of the Regina Manifesto to which I said OK but was to be a repudiation of my past.



Our friend finally came to this with considerable embarrassment admitting that he thought it ~~improbable~~ improbable if not impossible. The second proposition would have sent me off to a club at the other extremity of the city but I thought it showed considerable sympathy and understanding on the part of this club's leadership. The third I tried to show put not only me but the club in an absurd situation—persons whom I recruit and at the time of talking it had been 6 or 7 would come down to the club to find that the fellow who recruited them was not even a member. My argument was of a character to convince my friend that they should really accept me, that it would be profitable all around. These proposals were put forward as coming from the club executive which happens to sit my sister. Upon enquiry at our meeting we find that she had never been called to the executive for a discussion on this matter—previously she had not been called when the executive drew up and discussed the club's resolutions going before the national convention this August.

The proposal was put forward that we should pursue this matter no further and that I should join Wm Temple's club. He had previously said that he would see that his club accepted me but we had decided against joining this club as we would then be sponsored by Temple whose name happens to be mud with the entire provincial council where my membership is fated to be decided upon. This proposal was rejected by the Toronto club and the decision was taken that I should make contact with the other leading member of the CCF club and try to convince him that I should be accepted. It was felt that it wouldn't do our case any good when it comes before the council to have it already known that a club turned us down. The decision was that our comrades in that club should fight to get my membership seriously discussed by the club and accepted on the basis of course that I fulfilled all the standards of membership, had been a longtime supporter of the CCF etc. It was also decided that our one comrade is being made a fool of by the local big wige ~~incompetent~~ operating the executive behind her back and that at the next meeting she should without too much fuss hand in her resignation from the executive to which she had been elected by the club and in which she was the second highest membership getter in the recent drive. This "fight" was to be carried on in a very educational and friendly tone, on the plane of democracy. The majority of the branch supported this policy.

Unfortunately before I could carry forward my part of the assignment an enlarged meeting of the executive of the club was held to discuss yours truly along with other matters. I haven't had a full report yet but I gather that it was pretty well cut and dried with the vote something like ten to two that I should be asked to withhold my membership for about a year. The line of the discussion was I gather that obviously my membership was going to be a point of big issue in the club and that would be bad so let evade it...peace it is wonderful. In the process of his report our trade union "friend" stated that the Toronto Committee had already come out in opposition to my membership and I gather the national council too in fact. There appears to be three names up before the provincial council, mine, some women RWPer in Windsor???? and some one else.

Last night I phoned Temple who had been away for ~~about~~ two weeks on business in Scotland (he told me he dropped in on Bevan and Foote). ~~He got a big~~ He got a big laugh out of it all and told me on the QT that he had spoken to a group of prominent Toronto CCFers and he could assure me that the majority of the Toronto Committee would go along with my acceptance. It was my night off (the store is closed Thursday nights so I can do some CCF work) and I planned to do some work with Temple but we thought it too hot. I suppose it was..the temperature was 94—the hottest June 26 in 112 recorded years. He is very anxious that I should work with him and I would think that our next meeting will decide that I join his club.

An aside—did you know that Toronto's annual mean temperature in the last 80 years has risen more than five degrees from 43 to 48. They say that this means that we have the temperature that they used to have in Washington and Philadelphia at the turn of the century. Toronto will soon be challenging Vancouver in temperature, then what will you have.

Wrote the south about their taking a weekly contribution ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXX~~ written by who ever is going to be in the center when we decide that but have  
not yet heard from them. I proposed that we send them a series on Canada written from  
the viewpoint of telling US workers what the situation is up here--and incidentally many  
Cdn workers too, or that we write every week on some development of importance sent  
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ to US workers dealing to a considerable degree with the CCF  
Canadian precursor of the US farmer labor party

Much more to say but this will put you in the picture. As soon as we receive your  
material on the election experiences and the road ahead we will put it out along with  
a short report on important developments elsewhere.

This letter should in my opinion be destroyed after the three of you have read it.

revolutionary greetings

July 25, 1952 ✓

Dear Jean and Don;

(Dofzent) Windsor

When are we going to hear from you folks. I have been looking forward to receiving a letter from you for sometime. I have been thinking that you might be coming this way on your holidays.

Hugh and Jerry have arrived in Vancouver—a much faster trip than they had contemplated. I dont imagine that Hugh will be working for a while for everything must be by now pretty well tied up by the 39 day IWA strike. He is probably hoping off from Vancouver to the various scenic points up the coast. Which makes me think of my taking some holidays this year. You know last year I had none.

Paddy had to leave last night for the wilds of Chicoutimi on a job. He had been out of work so long that he was picking his last ten spot and this was the only opening. Spent last night trying to tell him a few basic French phrases. It is all French up there you know...way up near LacSt Jean on the Saguenay River. Jean is up handling the IWA strike at Durham—possibly you have been reading about it. Yours truly is busy one and sometimes two nights a week working with William H. Temple—the man who beat Drew. He and I are going to build the High Park CCF club—we are on the best of terms and it is probable that he will be opening many doors for me.

But it is really your turn to tell me what cooks with you—over, over....

warmest regards

Ross

Would you show this document to M—I havent got another copy and anyway I dont like to send such material to his store



July 25, 1952

Vancouver  
Dear Reg:

Hugh Mason  
Jerry (Houle?)

Received your letter this morning, or was it Ruth's, asking for the 5 copies of Socialism-Scientific and Utopian. I had them and sent them right out. At .30 a copy they took up \$1.50 of the money you sent. You were fortunate that we had them as it is a book that I always push on student types that drop into the bookstore and I have been fairly successful in this. Unfortunately we do not have any copies of the Huberman book left—the office workers, steel and retail wholesale unions have been taking all we could get. I have never read the book so I don't know what the local union tops' approval really means but from glancing over it my impression is that it answers fairly effectively all the classic arguments against unions.

*tangle*

I was going to take the other dollar included in your money order and go over to the beer parlour ~~but I decided~~ and have a few drinks on you but decided that you would probably prefer that I sent you something more tangle than some drunken thanks, pal for the beers. I have shipped along a copy of a first rate novel that we have for \$1.00. I don't know whether you read many novels. If you do I know you will think this one well worth a buck. If you don't sell it to some comrade who does read novels—I guarantee satisfaction. It is Emile Zola's book Germinal—a tale of the heroic struggles of the miners in the Borinage. I would have sent some of the political pamphlets that we have around here but I don't know what you have n't ~~got~~ already on your library shelves.

Glad to hear that Hugh and Jerry arrived there safe. They made the coast much sooner than they had led me to believe they were intending. Well put Hugh to work. He is a one interest man—trade unionism and politics with beer on the side. I was going to say that he will boost the financial situation up out there—he has always kicked in in a big way—but then the situation with finances has improved and it's quite good out your way now. Isn't it. He will be a real asset anyway but he will be all the more one if you can get him in a shop with you or one of the more experienced, one of the more able comrades. Unfortunately he has always been compelled to work on his own and to make it more difficult he has been in the biggest shops where the Stalinists, the CCF and the straight trade union opportunists have been real powers and work has been most complex.

I don't know what political possibilities Jerry has—at times he shows interest but has been brought up in an atmosphere inimicable to the movement. But obviously it can't have been too inimicable for there is the other six of us isn't there

I received your very interesting letter of the 10th but have kept ~~off~~ delaying a reply until we received a more rounded picture of what we did in the election, what we think of the results, how we see things ahead. I gather the pressure of other work has been continually postponing your document on this. I suppose you noted the article that I sent to the Militant on the elections. Unfortunately they cut out the material which was most valuable from our point of view. I had a couple of paragraphs outlining a policy that the CCF as a minority government or as the opposition could carry out. The Uphill movement proved to be quite a fiasco didn't it... and the Stalinist vote was pitifully small. With such strong trade union representation ~~in the CCF~~ in the CCF parliamentary group we can expect to see greater union participation in the clubs. It seems clear now that the ~~in the CCF~~ there is not going to be any move for trade union political action outside the CCF in BC....that there wasn't really any pressure behind the BC Federation resolution some months back than Stalinist and anti-labor political action forces. There is one good thing about the preferential ballot—it gives a much better insight into the real content of the CCF, LPP SC votes. ~~XXXX~~ I hope that an analysis of the second third choice votes takes up some space in your document. I suppose you noted how few CCFers gave any of their choices to the LPP..how a very high percentage of the LPP second choice went CCF although there was little in the LPP propaganda in the Pacific Tribune to encourage this. The PF continues to raise a scare over the SC vote....but form what I can see it is not in any form a quasi fascist, or even a reactionary vote....just a protest vote which was stopped and un

insufficiently developed to go to the CCF. But I will leave this now in anticipation of your document with its on the spot insight.

It is good to hear that you have been warmly received by the local members of the CCF. Your ~~figures~~ of the ~~ratio~~ proportion of activists to the number of members on the books ~~is much better than mine~~ I could match time after time with Ontario data. In High Park where I am working with Temple he cannot even get one other person to go out and do membership work these summer nights...yet we have hundreds of members. I hope you meet with good success in your project to win back into activity some of the old gang who have dropped away over the years. We will be able to put them to good use as a buffer around us. No doubt many of them will be more amenable to your ideas now.

I am glad to hear that you are managing to keep in touch with Steve. He continues ~~in his~~ his silence with the NO. I have written him another friendly letter and if we don't soon get a reply I am afraid the PQ-NO will have to deal with the case. I think you should raise this matter ~~at~~ with him in a letter just as soon as possible. I am wondering if he hasn't already written you something about why he is refusing to correspond with the center. I have some grave doubts about the advisability of our continuing to send him internal material—he is very unstable—and with no correspondence we don't know where he is going. This situation could have ~~the~~ great dangers for our work. If you have more information than I all this may appear quite alarmist...but I don't think we should tolerate any idea that he can limit himself with his group to contact with Vancouver only.

Re our CCF work here. I have just sent off in the mail to El a copy of a document I have written on this question. ~~Barryman~~ I sent Barry an extra copy I had which you might go over before the meeting where El will probably read it. It is rather general so it might well provide the basis for an educational discussion out there. I have tried to deal in as unpolemical way as possible with various problems and differences that have come up here....not that it adds particularly to anything that has already been said here—but it is good to get things down on paper for examination

We received a letter this morning from a JW Beattie, 201 West 8th Street, North Vancouver. Since he asks for a book called the Truth About Socialism by Huberman I gather he may be one of the group of workers who you are getting to study EngelsXX I don't know that book but will check into it. He also asks for THE Parabel of the Water Tank. I am wondering if you think I should suggest Goldman's Socialism on Trail to him.

We are having a meeting in about an hour and I have a few details to prepare so I had better cut this not off. Hope to hear from you again shortly

warmest regards

Ross



July 30, 1952 ✓

Dear Steve;

Murray was instructed to write this letter to you but he is at present on his holidays—I know that he did not have a chance to write it before he left and I am doubtful if he planned to write it while vacationing—so I am doing so.

As you know it is now well over ~~two~~<sup>four</sup> months since we last heard from you or the ~~national office~~ club there which you so ably pulled together. Considering the great plenty of correspondence that flowed back and forth from Trail to Toronto prior to that time and the contents of your last or next to last letter which complained of lack of correspondence from this end I myself cannot understand your silence. None of us understand this silence of yours.

Since none of our letters have been returned address unknown I assume that you have been receiving them. In my own opinion there can have been nothing develop between yourself and the national office that can justify your continued failure to reply to the national office correspondence. It has only been through great effort and sacrifice that we have proceeded as far as we have in consolidating a national leadership. The committee needs your participation to enable us to further advance along the path to the creating of the kind of leadership we all know to be necessary to reach our common objective. Just as an international party, the kind that Lenin visualized, needs the cooperation of national sections in implementing its program and developing by the experiences gained thereby, so does the national office and our various clubs require the experiences aid and co-operation of our Trail Comrades.

If Steve, you feel that you have cause for breaking off correspondence in the interests of the great cause with which we have identified ourselves you owe us an explanation. I am confident that the whole situation can be straightened up to our mutual satisfaction and that we can return once again to the old comradesly and extremely profitable relationship that we had in the past.

I am looking forward to your immediate reply to this note.

with revolutionary greetings

Ross Dowson

August 1, 1952 ✓

J.W. Beattie  
210 West 8th Street  
North Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Sir;

With regards to your enquiry about a book called "The Truth About Socialism" by Leo Huberman. Unfortunately we do not know that book nor can we find it listed. We are familiar with Huberman's "The Truth About Unions" and his book "Man's Worldly Goods". The former title we picked up in large quantity when the wholesalers were dumping it but as soon as we received them they were grabbed up by various Steelworker Office Worker and Retail Wholesale Clerk locals and we haven't a single one left. I think we have scraped the barrel and it is doubtful if any more can be obtained. If however we do manage to get our hands on some more copies and this is the book that you want we would only be too glad to send you a copy

Yes we do stock Bellamy's "The Parable of the Water Tank" and also his "Looking Backwards". The former is listed at 10 cents, the latter at \$1.45. In the belief that you may want something else before shipping you "The Parable of the Water Tank" we are taking the liberty of sending you a couple of subject lists of books that we have available which we think will interest you

I might mention a couple of titles on our list that would certainly cover any material that would have been dealt with by Huberman in "The Truth About Socialism." We have two companion pamphlets that cover in a very vivid and lucid manner the whole range of socialist ideas--IN DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM and SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. They are the verbatim court recording of the trial of the leaders of the American socialist movement for their opposition to World War II. The "defendants" reply to the lies and distortions that their capitalist accusers make against socialism. So socialist ideas are presented in these pamphlets in an exciting manner against the classic arguments of the anti-socialists. Another excellent pamphlet along this line is WELFARE STATE OR SOCIALISM by Art Preis. This pamphlet very ably states the case for a new society. With facts and figures it shows how this society of capitalism is rapidly going down hill, cannot be patched up but must be replaced by a new society of production for use not profits. Then of course we have Frederick Engels' book SOCIALISM, SCIENTIFIC AND UTOPIAN, a more advanced book which deals with the development of society towards socialism, analyses the various conceptions of the new society and the struggle for it that man has developed, and places the struggle on a scientific basis.

I hope that this information is of value to you and that we can be of further service

fraternally

Paul Kane

August 1, 1952 ✓

Dear Hardy,

Meant to drop you a line a while back ~~but haven't~~. Received the money order for \$60 and here is the receipt. Yesterday we received \$40 for the international fund drive with many thanks.

That slip on the transferable vote breakdown was very interesting. That is one ~~more~~ of the whole system...that it enables one as never before to see what is behind the X markings alongside various party names. I hope one of us out there is able to take out the time to really go over the returns working out the transferable votes, percentages etc. I am sure that there is a mine of data there which will give us as never before the political physiognomy of the BC workers and petty bourgeois.

Very sorry to hear that Lil has been in the hospital but I gather from a short note I received from Markin some while back that she got out shortly after you wrote for a trip south. Received a ~~very~~ letter from Angus, our first for a very long time, and a very long one dealing to considerable extent with the trade union situation but no doubt all that it covers was discussed at great length while he was with you.

I intend to cover most of the sessions of the convention here this next week. We of course are not in much of a position other than to make some contacts. What with the connections I have managed to form so far we should get all the dope on everything that goes on. Will cover it for the southern press—I am sure that it will be interesting since Sask's resolutions will have to be dealt with. Will try to get a confidential report out for the club's use to supplement the southern press coverage.

fraternally

August 22, 1952 ✓

Dear Hugh;

(Dowson) <sup>in</sup> VAN.

Jerry Dowson - Toronto ?  
+ Jerry Houle - Truro ?

I suppose you received Murray's note last week and you will be dropping us a reply shortly but there was a matter which I neglected to suggest that he raise with you. Have you written to Don and Joan? We have not had any sound from that direction since you left. I have sent a couple of short notes that I thought would win a reply and also a few bundles of internal bulletins and papers. Of course it would be valuable if we could keep contact with them. We need their financial aid. As was to be expected with the demise of Labor Challenge our sustaining has dropped somewhat yet our running expenses are quite high and as soon as we get into a position should be made higher by paying whoever stays in the office a wage more in line with a workers wage. Furthermore we are going to have to go back into Windsor sooner or later and we need all the contacts we can get. Don can be very valuable and certainly can be developed. I think you should immediately if you have not already done so, sit down and write them a long and detailed letter. They would like to know about the trip and about our Vancouver comrades, I am sure they would be pleased to hear that Don B is coming around. Would you attend to this just as soon as you are able.

Jerry was down here this morning. He is trying to pick up a couple of weeks of work at the Exhibition. After that the printing trade should pick up again a bit and he will know whether he is going to be able to get a job somewhere else or go back to Moore's. Sure he told me about the break-up you and he had. It's nothing. He seems to have taken it in his stride. The only effect that I can see that it had was that both of you when separated went through what was originally planned as a two or three month tour in about one month. It is very difficult to pick out a suitable travelling companion. I once went down to Chicago with a comrade who is no longer around and it was really maddening. When I suggested we might eat here he always wanted to eat somewhere else—all the differences were little things but they made the trip most unpleasant—a trip that was supposed to be for pleasure. There is quite a gap in age and interests between you and Jerry—why he doesn't even drink beer. I thought that he would go along with what you wanted to do but I see that he is quite an independent guy. I know that he often makes snap decisions and goes into an unyielding sulk over them. But that is all by the by now. I was surprised to hear that you went through the rest of the most colossal scenery on the continent so fast. I figured he might after leaving you go across the country like a jet plane and so waste an excellent opportunity. I see that he didn't but took it fairly leisurely and saw all the high spots. But what was your purpose in steaming through. Both times that I went across I was on schedules, with no money and making with the thumb and so saw little of what I wanted to see. Sometime I hope to be able to make a leisurely tour through the Crow's Nest, Fernie, the Kootenay's, the Okenagan, up the Coast. But of course you can always do that on the way back. Although Barry was so fascinated by the climate scenery and such that it is possible that that want be for a long long time.

Havent hear anything on Murray's membership except a rumour from a leftist friend of ours that it has been passed onto the provincial council with the South 'ork' clubs approval. Vern just phoned me to tell me that the club out his way-Lakeview-Prt Credit has oked his membership against the advice of Morden Lazarus who it appears took it upon himself to refuse it. The club has voted to accept it and if necessary to send someone down to the provincial council to convince them to accept it. At anyrate he is now in an excellent working relationship with the local club. Next week the High Park executive will pass on my application and we will see what gives from there. On Tuesday night I was out doing membership work with none other than old Jack Burnside.



so you can see we are making progress. Your truly was the star at the West Toronto CCF picnic a couple of Saturdays ago. Temple insisted that I have dinner with he and his wife and none other than Tommy Douglas. It was amusing to all the polite and obsequious attentions that local CCF big wigs were showering on Douglas. I congratulated Douglas for the left stands taken by some of the Sask delegates and he invovled me in a few words as to what the subject of his speech should be. I told him to talk on Sask for the ~~nan~~ CCF members of the audience and on the international situation above all the question of the fight against war. His speech was quite left and in the latter part of it he stressed several times that the fight against war was the fight against capitalism, for a CCF government--prestned somewhat abstractly but useful to us none-theless. Of course his speech was liberally sprinkled with quotations from St. Paul and humanitarian sentiments.--but again quite useful to us here where the right is really dominante and much to the right of Douglas.

But I must get this off. Dont forget to let me know about the \$50.

warmest regards

Ross

September 8, 1952

Dear Reg;

Bulloch

Stee (Trail)

Your letter to Barry arrived here some days ago but Barry himself hasn't arrived here yet so I do not have any idea of its contents. He must have decided to extend his stay in California or has taken advantage of the situation to take side trips to see important points of interest which of course is a good idea for who knows when the opportunity will again present itself.

Possibly the letter to Barry deals with some of the matters that I am about to raise, if this is so it will hardly be necessary to deal with them again. Right now I am particularly interested in hearing from you about your meeting with Steve. We will be meeting again this coming week and or shortly after that to take some decisive action on this matter. As things now stand, with the information at hand I see no alternative but to drop him from the party. We have sent several letters to him in the past while appealing to him to pick up correspondence, to report on the activities of the group around him, to give us his opinion ~~on various~~ on various questions that are confronting us and we have received no reply. He must be receiving these letters as we have sent return addresses on them. This situation while quite unfortunate is not at all unexpected. It is unfortunate because Steve is a revolutionary and one with a terrific amount of drive. It is not unexpected for my long and detailed correspondence with him ever since I made contact with him through a lead in the Pacific Tribune has revealed an incredible instability. No one was more surprised than I when Bill W nominated him for the NC. or some time I concentrated on trying to get him out of Trail into Van when he could lean on the experiences of other revolutionists and was each time overjoyed when he wrote that he was preparing to make the move. The big problem with him it seems to me is that he was never able to arrive at a fundamental principled orientation. From his more recent correspondence I feel that he never really grasp or understood our attitude to the CCF, of course the local situation made this a trifle difficult. Thinking that it was possible that he felt that he had been affronted by the PC modest reply to his what I consider totally unBolshevik threat re correspondence I wrote him about three weeks ago a note which I thought would encourage him to say what he felt--no reply. I would guess that he received this note about the time that you were there. Did you manage to see the other two comrades. While he proclaimed their recruitment a few weeks prior to Murray and Barry's visit he did not introduce them ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~. The only contact I have had with these comrades was through Steve so ~~xxxxxxxx~~ no attempt has been made yet to see what can be done with them. To make such an attempt might well mean to write off Steve, of course depending on what relationship they have with him. our report is now essential. I am thinking that it is even possible that he is in correspondence with Vancouver on a regular basis and rather than having to perform the distasteful task of writing him off for a whole period we have only to patiently re-establish his contact with the center. As things now stand we have come to a tacit agreement to cut him off from all future inter group correspondence--the stuff we have been sending out is dynamite if it gets into the wrong hands.

I am anxious to know what you and Bill think of the last executive minutes dealing with FR. The approach to the question may well have appeared to be ponderous, to be repeating what is already known and accepted by all but I think it was necessarily this way. Barry dropped us a short note reporting the skeleton of the question but that was all. We here had no knowledge of how the question was posed at your get together, what was accepted and what was at debate so I think that it was best to more or less start from scratch. Has A got in touch with you. Have you had a chance to talk things over again with Bill and to send A your further opinion? I think that ~~him~~ you should get together and write A further. We have not yet heard from him and I intend to drop him a line this afternoon. Whatever you write him on this matter would you send us a carbon copy. I would very much like to hear your opinion in the light of our comments.

Whatever happened to that document that Barry and you drew up on the situation and our work in BC. As you must have noticed there was a big gap in the last circular letter nothing from Van. I wasn't able to put anything in for we have not been receiving any minutes or even personal correspondence from your neck of the woods for sometime now. If it is agreeable to you when Barry arrives I will get him to polish off from here for publication--possibly that was your intention anyway.

Someday when you have the opportunity I would appreciate hearing from you on the PK document The Road Ahead in Ontario and to hear any ideas you have as to how to improve contact in the party, how to improve the letter we have been sending out etc.

Everything is rather quiet here right now. The Exhibition has killed off what irregular work we had managed to get some of the better elements in the mass movement involved in. But within a few weeks all the clubs will be meeting again. The provincial council will also be meeting within a week to decide on ~~on the~~ Fitzgerald's case and another case which will tell us the score on where I stand. A friend of mine on the council has suggested we hold off my application until we see what happens with these two cases. ~~on the~~ The value of this is somewhat debatable but we have acquiesced. He tells me that the club will insist on taking me anyway regardless of the pc and together with some of the other members of this club with whom I have done some work these past few months we are making some big plans. Elsewhere we are being accepted quite readily. Wilson ~~has been suggested~~ will be on the executive of his club upon the suggestion of some top right wingers who know well what he is. Fitz appears to be welcome in the club that he has applied to and is starting to open important doors in the shop that he is now working in --a medium sized UAW shop that has just come through a very militant and successful strike. He had already been approached to put out a shop paper on the basis that the president of the local knows that he has had experience putting out papers. All the news is lacking in sensationalism but registers important gains.

Well, are we going to have another election out there?

warmest regards

September 9, 1952 ✓

Dear Court;

Just anote to enclose a receipt for the added \$15 you sent for the financial drive. As you no doubt heard ~~from the~~ at the last get-together the drive was quite a success...Van's contribution was certainly a healthy one.

I am slipping into this letter a receipt ~~margin~~ that just arrived from the south for the funds that some friend of our out there turned over with the specification that it go to fight the Trucks Law.

Are you all getting the Militant out there these days. Pretty well a must now that LC is no more. I suppose you have read the last issue with the article on the CCF national convention. It was sent in sometime ago but was pushed aside by Cannon's speech on the SWP political resolution and the trade union resolution. I hope that we can make sue of thuch artibbbs among the closer to us CCFers. The next article that they will be getting will probably cover the CCL and TLO conventions. We will be sending it in right after the CCL convention towards the end of this month. Have you any ideas on what you would like to see covered.

Drop us a line anytime you have an opportunity

warmest regards

Ross

October 7, 1952 ✓

Dear Reg;

This is starting off as a short note or recognition of receipt of the batches of correspondence that you have been sending in. Tomorrow if nothing untoward happens I will be leaving the office for about a week's holiday, there will be many odds and ends piling up when I am away and I figure that if I do not send you this note today you will be wondering what has happened to me.

Thanks for going to the trouble of typing us a copy of Steve's note to you. I suppose that this is not really surprising to anyone and it will not have any rude effect on the branch out there. The political justification for his defection is so absurd and our previous political experiences with Steve have been so unsatisfactory that I am sure that this last one will not have much of a demoralizing effect on the comrades out there. He is not known to the Eastern comrades aside from the NC members so nothing will be said about the matter down here. I suppose you intend to report this development to the comrades for their information.

I see you intend to present Steve "with a balance sheet he will be hard put to try a and answer. ....even to himself" I think there is just one thing we should be careful of now...I suppose you have thought of it. We don't know where he is going. I know that for a long time the question of Stalinism has remained an unsettled one in his mind. Last year he asked me to send him all the Stalinist anti-Trotskyist literature available and from his correspondence on many questions I had the feel that he never cleared many Stalinist tendencies from his mind. He writes to the effect that he intend to continue his activities in the working class movement "ready to co-operate with any working towards this goal, yes, even sharing many of your ideas, not necessarily your tactics but firmly accepting Marxist-Leninist principles." Well, I don't know anyone with whom he can work other than the Stalinists. Maybe this is just heroics on his part for the Stalinists are a pitifully poor and small group in Trail from everything he has told me but it is possible that we will learn shortly that there is a new addition to the LPP ranks in Trail. He has a great deal of material in his possession that can cause us much harm if it gets into the wrong hands. I believe that he has kept all N.O. correspondence, internal material, circular letters that show we still exist though formally dissolved etc. It is unfortunate that he has this material and I think that we should be careful that we do not give him any more in projected attempts to prosletize him.

Of course the big problem has been his isolation. But unfortunately he has been quite dishonest not only with the party but with himself. I believe I told you that I received back a copy of Lenin's essay on pacifism which had written in it in Steve's hand writing a sharp criticism of LT, his error of conciliationism with Menshevism and linking this up with the French turn and our orientation to the CCF. At the time I wrote him and asked him if he would like to discuss this matter—you know that he never did give an opinion on my document The CCF and Our Perspectives. He brushed it aside as nothing at all but now significantly this is the big argument that he puts up. His refraining from telling you where he stood with us or even some kind of version of his walking out of the local CCF club because of "a sense of hospitality" is amusing....but these and other incidents seem to me to point out a considerable uselessness in, aside from the problem of security, going to a great deal of effort to present a balance sheet to him.

I think it would be good to send him some kind of recognition of his letter which firmly but friendly waps him on the knuckles. His political criticisms of us may be just so much rationalization to cover up a slump into complete political inactivity. At some other stage he may well come back towards us and it would be good to leave as clear a path

(Ends)

November 3, 1952 ✓

Dear Eillian;

Sorry to be so long in sending you these receipts. Have spent quite a bit of my time since returning from my week's vacation getting the papers up to date, picking up this and that bit of correspondence that was pressing, and entertaining our various visitors which have come from Prince Rupert, Montreal, and other points.

Dave ~~Wassinkovich~~ Macphree was in but unfortunately he came around when I was away finally making contact the night before he had to pull out. We had a short but pleasant discussion--unfortunately Dave disagrees with our entry (maybe we should say attempted entry) or orientation to the CCF. When he was compelled to leave us he said to me that he would give earnest consideration to what we had said. Possibly your work in Vancouver has helped straighten him up a bit. There is nothing like some practical proof. He told me that he was going to be in Van for a period. Hope he had lots of time to get around and see you all. Unfortunately he was unable to meet many of us down here-- Possibly the work that he felt he had to do on the house, now completed, was a factor in his not really coming to grips with the problems that impell the entry.

I am intending to get out another of our circular letters this week--so I won't go into what has been doing these days. But there is something you can do for me Lil, and that is get Eilaine to send me some minutes or if this is not possible to send us a bit of a report of what is doing, what experiences we have been having out there. Vancouver is truly a blank spot on our map. I was surprised, pleasantly so of course to read in the Militant that you had ordered a big bundle of the Militant, for----?

Any information you can send me will be appreciated. It looks like I will have to cut this letter off---a CYMer who is close to us has dropped in and is continuing to talk to me while I am trying to write, really cramping my style.

fraternally

Ross



November 5, 1952

Dear Hugh;

Dorson (VNP)

Glad to get your note this morning. I have been intending to answer your previous one for some while but it is only in the last two days that I have got things sufficiently cleared away to get at the correspondence.

I am keeping very busy--what with the office routine, the socre, CCF work our various classes etc. But first let us take up a few odds and ends you raise in the last letters.

Lois and Jean have moved and they are out on O'Connor Drive. Lois just couldn't make suppers and keep house and have to travel from her East York school to the old place on College. I haven't been out to the new place yet, they only moved in last Saturday but everyone says that it is quite a good apartment, fairly new, well appointed. Their address is 1131 O'Connor Drive, Apt 2, Toronto. I am sure they would be glad to hear from you. Jean is at present down in Quebec looking after a situation that developed in one of their locals---they have cut their dues to the national office. He has a new car--one supplied to all the organizers--a Mercury--and is very pleased with it. We understand that there is a good CCF situation out in East York so we are widening our contact.

I am living at the Kneseliff Apartments on the corner of Sherbourne and Wellesley Sts, Apt 55. . But don't send any mail there as I only look at the box about once a week. After all I am down here every day. I have a bachelor apartment for which I pay 50 a month. Quite a bit but ~~it is not too bad~~ only works out to about 11.50 a week which is little more than Dick pays for a room. I have my own bathroom--a full size one bigger than 225 and a closet which has been turned into a kitchenette--it has enough room to take a small frig-a grill and two cabinets for dishes and food. By Toronto ~~rents~~ rents it is not too bad. Having your own bathroom is a great advantage and of course being in an apartment, one of 98, gives privacy. You can come and go with friends at any hour without anyone gawking at you, wondering what gives. I also prepare the odd meal at home and save a little money. So far I have had Jean and Lois, Arlene, Ken, Paddy, Barry and Shirley for supper---at various times of course. The room is a good size. I didn't buy any furniture except two chairs. Had a nice throw made for my old bed, and use my army trunk plus one of the old trunks we had in the attic for chests of drawers. Of course I have bought a few things...I bought myself a three speed gramophone, portable so I can take it to the office if we want, had to buy grapes..the apartment is ground level, and while living at 225 in the last days when everyone had taken their dishes knives and forks etc I had to set up a kitchen But it has been at a bare minimum and I can't think of a better way to spend the money mother left us. Of course I can no longer live on my income--what with laundry bills, no more \$9 a week board. I was really at the bottom of my clothes--have bought two nice suits, a sport jacket and other odds and ends.

Murray and I were investigating getting a tape recorder here. ~~EMI~~ Money burns a hole in Murray's pocket but my frugality prevailed when we

learned that the machine we wanted was going to cost almost three hundred dollars wholesale. I am suprised that you can get one even thro the States for as little as \$100. One of the Buffalo comrades told us that they paid over \$200 second hand. The ones we were looking at were really high fidelity. The had cheaper ones but they only picked up a voice and one could not distinguish whose voice. Of course 50 odd out of that 300 was going to the cost of changing the machine to 25 cycles, possibly you dont have that problem in Vancouver. Let me know waht kind of machine you get for it might well be that when we do get one that they should be the same and we could exchange tapes or are all tapes interchangeable?

Barry tells me that he has sent Vancouver a letter concerning his dues and pledge. Yes I know that Barry is guilty of a certain organizational irresponsibility---I dont know that that is so much the word --it is a sort of above, a sort of carelessness about organizational details. I have brought this tendency to his attention many times and he always seems to set off to correct it, however. The worst thing about it is that it gives comrades like Bill w the opportunity to make small minded remarks like the one he made to you. In most persons the lack of sensitivity that Barry often shows reveals a drifting away from the movement but in Barry's case it appears to be deep rooted but signifying a sort of up in the clouds. Barry is really terrifically tied to the movement both emotionally and politically. I told him you were expecting to hear as to receipt of the parcels and your suggestion about some books. I doubt that he has done anything about these matters for right now he is on a real emotional bender. When I went on my holiday I gave him the use of my apartment. One of the weekends he went to Buffalo brought back one of the Buffalo comrades with him and low and behold it appears to be the real thing, love at first sight. At anyrate he and his wife are now living at his folks place. He is working shifts at Lever Brothers organized by the Chemical workers and has sent in his membership application to the CCF. If all goes well he will be in the same club as Jim and Kit and will be able to give them the benefit of what I can gather was a very excellent experience gained in Vancouver CCF work. Of course much of his spare time right now is tied up with this honeymoon

Barry told me much the same as you tell about the situation in the south. It appears that there is going to be a bit of a blowing off of pent up steam now that the election campaign has come to a close. It will be good for it to come out in the open for such things churn deep when under cover. We will soon see what it is all about.

I cashed in your holiday book with no trouble. And just in time too as we were getting very very low in funds. I have sent Lil the receipt. We also saw the issue of True that you refer to. Quite interesting--I suppose that magazine has several hundred thousand circulation

Murray tells me that you swa Lloyd and Muriel. We tried to meet with them here but they obviously didn't want to. I sent him the copy of the Militant with the report of the CCL-TLC conventions along with a note suggesting that he suscribe. A very capable trade unionist but he appears to be hopelessly a syndicalist at the very time in world history when there can be no revolutionary struggle without a clear ~~noting~~ grasp of politics...for we are now confronted with the problem of the state and who is to control it. All Whalen has got to offer is militancy and more militancy on a trade union level--and alas

for him the workers are finding that militancy is not paying off at every turn they are coming up against not just the individual boss but this thing the state. According to the latest BC CCF News the CCF is making big strides among the BC unionists. Maybe the article is bit too sanguine but that is the next move that is going to be made. If Lloyd doesn't make it he is only going to go down in the IWA.

So the shachtmanites are making contact with the remains of the Fellowship eh. I haven't any other information than the few sentences you write. Of course the shachtmanites are going to the right rapidly and it wouldn't be hard for them to get along with the Fellowship remnants..but what the hell do they amount to. The Fellowship was composed of many irresponsible elements from their last performance. Are they doing anything in the clubs...are we thrust into a position where we have to work with them. If they are not working in the clubs then we have hardly a need to bother about them at all. A good many of what I gather is left of the Fellowship have been flirting around in a very dilettantish way with leftists ideas for a long time now. I doubt that anything can be done with them by us except by going through some practical experiences with them in the CCF itself. This probably wouldn't require having any ~~other~~ other relationship with them for a while than what one would have in the club. Glad to hear that Elaine is now in--I gather that leaves just you and the Bullocks out. If you get called up on the mat for a quiz over your application I think it would be a good idea to have a detailed talk with Reg over what you should and should not say previously. Reg did a very good job when he was up and these BC tops are pretty sharp. Of course you assume no responsibility for LC or any of my and Murray's supposed or otherwise actions. You are applying on your own and are resentful of their challenging your motives when you have so proven your good intentions to the CCF. Reg will be a big help.

I received a short note from Don which he must have written about the same time as he wrote yours. He doesn't say much except that he will probably be in the CCF anyday now..he enclosed fifty bucks..he had sent in another fifty around Labor Day. I thought that it was a very good letter that he sent you--the detail that he went into would seem to me to show that he is interested in your advice and opinion. I think it would be a good idea to keep up correspondence.

I am rather surprised to hear that you are still out of work. The employment situation down here is quite good I gather from the paper. Well it won't be a bad experience to work as a laborer for a while. I don't think you should leave town to get work. Our Vancouver work is much too important. Everyone is working here with some of them when on night shift spending time trying to get into particular plants where we want to work. Murray is in a good situation in COMEX and we are trying to get others there with him.

I would give you some information on the progress of our work down here but I am getting a letter out I hope this week-end so it is hardly necessary. I am working in the Silverthorne club of the High Park club--have met several fellows that knew you at Massey Harris--of course Jack Burnside, another fellow who works with Jack in the tool room but whose name I have forgotten--an old man about 70, Scotch and a staunch CCF'er. I signed up a guy by the name of McFalone who new you in the toll room and another guy who is now vice-president of the Massey Harris local J. Dickenson--

McFalone is a real right winger but Dickenson seems to be an excellent type although he hasn't come to any club meetings yet. Burnside and the other old fellow go off the beam occasionally but on the whole are good rebel worker types.

Vern is back with us now along with Paddy and we cant generally complain.

all the best

Ross

✓  
✓  
Nov 6/52 ✓

✓  
Don (Dagert)  
Windsor

Carlton turned page #

Damn it, I see that you have the carbon copy on the back. I always like to take carbons just in case someone refers back to a letter I wrote them and some detail in it. But this putting of the carbon backwards happens everytime in a while

Barry is of course back now and we are now anxiously looking to see his membership accepted. The question of formal membership is somewhat important even though a club lets us participate fully in all its activities---it gives us a freer hand. The way things are I feel somewhat restrained from expressing my views for fear of antagonizing certain forces who could become agents in the club of the top leaderships opposition to us. As things now stand there are many things upon which I could speak that I let slide by. On those problems where I think it is necessary to speak I present my views in as restrained a way as is possible for my rather unrestrained self--I present them more or less as opinions that are well worth the memberships consideration. It so happens due to a series of accidents the club that I am working in has a leftist atmosphere and appears to welcome leftist contributions. Unfortunately most of the members are older persons, most of them with strong Christian socialist tendencies. I would like to really set to work to build the club but I am living miles from the area. It seems to me on the basis of our experiences so far that one of the big tasks confronting us is to help build the clubs, attract new blood to them. We are going to make our first really public effort with the national health petition.

We have already decided that we are going to take the petition out onto the streets..set up a booth with slogans and signs on the busiest corners on Friday and Saturdays with squads of our activists about getting signatures. I am hoping that with such public type of activity we will attract some new blood. We are also going to be up to our neck in a municipal election campaign, we are one of the few clubs that is running candidates. But the way this is being handled I am doubtful if we will get anything from it.

Did Joan get over to any of the Detroit election meetings? Did you see any of the TV programs. I watched TV a couple of nights when it seems that we were due to appear but to no results. The gang attended two of the meetings at Buffalo which were very successful. As a matter of fact when on one of the Buffalo jaunts Barry raided the Buffalo branch and brought back a wife with him. There has been a great deal of talk in the shops about the elections in the US according to everyone. Well Reuther and Mazey are going to have to do some fast talking. Their opportunistic opposition to the labor party didn't pay off and when opportunism doesn't pay off in any shape and form what justification is there for it. The workers who pushed for a labor party at the Cleveland convention will be able to demonstrate now that the UAW might just as well have worked for a labor party as have worked for Stevenson---the Stevenson work has resulted in absolutely nothing and working for a labor party would have at least been preparing for the future

What's new in local union ranks...anything moving yet? Have you managed to get around to give M--the bulletin I sent you..I don't know what the chances are but it would be good if you can keep it get something out of M. Are you subscribing to the Militant yet? I am enclosing a recent issue which carries a very important article on the British Labor Party convention. We are finding that the Bevanite struggle is a matter of



great interest in the clubs here. CCF activists are very much oriented to the BLP and follow developments within it extremely closely. You will read in the article of the excellent progress that we are making in Britain. One of us in the executive elections polled almost as many votes as John Strachey. I think as you get integrated into the club that you will find our British material of great value. The Socialist Outlook will soon be a weekly. As soon as our bundle arrives I will be sending you a couple of sample copies of two pamphlets that Br has just published. One of them is an excellent analysis of Bevan's position and another a very simple, popular presentation of what is the cause of wars and how to fight them. Being put out by Labor Party activists and being addressed to the BLP makes them highly acceptable to CCFers who are thinking.

Ah, I forgot to tell you also that there just so happens to be in their copy of the Militant an interesting article on the recent CCL convention. Thanks for the Upton Sinclair address. Looking forward to a more frequent correspondence with you

warmest regards

Ross

November 12, 1952

Britannia Beach BC

Dear Bill; white

I hear from my brother who is now living in Vancouver that Reg took a spin up your way and stayed a while. So I suppose we are right in the picture of what has been developing in your locality and what you are doing. I haven't heard from Reg himself and as I am looking forward to with considerable interest.

Incidentally a few months back you sent us \$1.50 as an advance payment on the projected Indian publication of The History of the Russian Revolution. As the enclosed note explains its has been indefinitely delayed. We have returned funds advanced by persons not very well known to us but haven't done so with such as you pending instructions. As you know we can easily put this to excellent use and lots more like it (I am hoping that your copper interests will be declaring a dividend soon) however I am waiting your instructions on this matter.

Dave Macphree was down here last month and was asking about you. I told him all I know on the basis of the odd letter you have managed to squeeze out and suggested that since he was planning to stop off in Vancouver for a while that he should go into Britannia. I hope he made it. We did not have a great deal of time to talk. He was ~~down~~ the week I was away on my holiday and only managed to contact us the night before he was leaving to go back. He hasn't been very busy politically lately. After work he has been putting all his energies to the building of a house. Besides I found that he has considerable resistance to our CCF orientation. But as he left he told me that he would give the most serious consideration to what we all here had to say about the need to work in the CCF and the favorable opportunities that must exist in PR. Of course Ray has been working in the CCF and now Angus who for quite a while had his hands full attempting to build a union in the new cellulose plant, is getting in. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

We are making considerable strides here in carrying out our orientation—all though there have been some difficulties develop. The top leadership in an unholy fear has refused some of us membership but due to good relations that we had previously formed and a certain leftist tendency that has been developing these refused comrades have been taken into the fold of the clubs. Murray's application was turned down and he was not even given a hearing—but he is on good working terms with the South York club which has the only CCF MP here east of Winnipeg. We have held my application back pending the handling of another comrade's case which we hope and partly can expect will be dealt with favorably. But I am not only in touch with a club but have been co-opted onto its executive

The fact that I haven't got a membership is curbing me somewhat as I do not want to alienate the sympathy of anyone in the club who might then become an agent of the top leadership against me. But I am finding that there is a considerable receptivity to our ideas. To a large extent I think that this is a reflection of the fact that the opportunistic policies that have been followed by the national leadership have not paid off in any way. And after all some kind of payoff is the sole justification of opportunism. The Bawn development in the RLP has also to a considerable extent opened up doubts in the ranks of the CCF and sort of legalized a sharp criticism of the official policy. The club that I am in is like most of the Toronto clubs at this stage—not much flesh on the bones. It has a large membership, something in the neighborhood of 300 odd but at last months nomination meeting only 40 turned up and when it comes to doing work I suppose you could cut that in half.

Most of the active core is getting on in age—not many youth around. In all this the CCF clubs duplicate the situation that exists in union locals in the Toronto area. I am hoping that the campaign we are going to put on in our area behind the national health petition will help us break through our present limited circle. The members tend to be conservative, lacking in imagination but we are trying to stir them into popular activity. In my club there are a couple of livewires but there is no one upon whom I have been able to do a concentrated political job on yet and advance along our way. This situation varies from club to club. In another one we have already been successful in forming a small caucus which plans its work in opposition to the local right wing leadership. In another district we are in the midst of a favorable and really growing youth group. Everyone is confident of the orientation, working hard, and learning.

I forgot to tell you that not only am I a member of the executive of a club but last week at a Labor Citizens Committee meeting (a joint CCL-TLC trade union CCF committee) I was struck off to be secretary of a sub committee—of the Toronto wide committee—The High Park Labor Citizens Committee. The High Park riding has over 700 employees of the big two packinghouses in its borders so I am looking forward to seeing what we can do in this all important field around the question of CCF political action BUT I STILL HAVENT GOT A MEMBERSHIP IN THE CCF—amusing isn't it.

Our bookstore is making headway but to some considerable extent its future is tied up with successful work in the mass movement. We are not in too good a spot for passerby trade and of course we have no funds available to advertize our existence very widely. Last week we did a mailing to the names and addresses of AFL-TLC local officials in the Toronto area. So far we have had two direct responses which I would say is quite good.

Do you subscribe ~~ENR~~ to the Militant Bill. If you dont, you must do so as soon as possible. If you do you must have read ~~of~~ the excellent report of the British Labor Party convention...and of the excellent showing that one of our comrades made in the elections to the executive where he came right in behind John Strachey. You will find the copies of Labor Review that are mentioned ~~promoted in the mass movement~~ in the previous letter that you will be receiving shortly very useful among CCFers. Time to close up shop now and get a bit to eat. Drop us alline first chance you get. I am anxious to hear all about the local CCF...and the union situation

fraternally

December 12, 1952

Bullock

**Bear Regg**

I received a letter from Bill White the other day. He expresses his great pleasure at your visit. However there seems to have arisen some kind of misunderstanding with regards to contacting the Squamish club of the CCF. He writes; "I haven't been able to get over to the Squamish group. R-suggested that I write you re G- at<sup>BC</sup> Squamish. Possibly you can write him suggesting that we get in touch, incidently I don't know his mailing address."

I would gather from this that Bill is under the impression that I have some kind of in, some kind of contact with this fellow George Lyons. And unfortunately. I know nothing about him. I gather from your last letter that you are very well acquainted with him and with the club to some extent. Well it seems that Bill is waiting for them to get in touch with him and expecting one of us to pull the trick. I suppose you can ~~gather from this~~ devise some kind of letter that will get Lyons to go to Britannia to look Bill up...will you handle this?...and as soon as possible?

Thanks for the informative letter last month. As you probably noted I used a good bit of the information in the circular letter. We haven't been getting minutes from our secretary out your way for many many months now and of course your doings loom big in our work. What do the comrades think of the circular letter that we have been sending out...are we maintainig the feeling of a party even though we have no paper and it is difficult to give direction to our work? I assume the various bits of correspondence have been getting to the meetings, that Bill manages to keep feeding everyone the literature that I have been shipping out etc etc.

The report on the bookstore comes out of some questions re financing that arose here so I thought we might take the opportunity to tell the rest of the comrades a little of this phase of our work. The pamphlet campaign (The Coming World Showdown) we devised as an organizing device...to set everyone working together on a common task. Besides we felt that there is a certain danger in our losing contact with our periphery now that the paper is gone...drapping in to see them, talking to them and leaving them a peice of writing that splendidly explains our evaluation of the world scene maintains the old contact. Unfortunately we have not yet managed to inspire many of our periphery to get into the CCF where we would continue to have contact with them. Unfortunately? we have had to take some money from some of these people--heretofore we never saw them except to put the bite on them--and imagine they are forcing money onto us. Are we going to be able to do much with this pamphlet our way? Bill hasn't ordered any more copies than the parcel that I first sent him, which amounted to about two for each comrade. I should think it would be worth while to ~~try to make it a little more of a campaign~~ ~~and become a thing but the thing is that~~ ~~can't~~ ~~probably~~ something can be gained by having it as widely circulated amongst any socialist- labor forces that will read it. I have sold twenty one copies so far (not counting the store sales) most to former members, close sympathizers & a few to CCFers who we know to be leftist and are friendly to us. The comrades here are somewhat slow in moving into this work but most of them have sold two and three copies.

I was very much interested to hear about Ruth's prominence in the City and District Ratepayers. Did we ever think of running her in the local elections? The CCF is very weak here too in municipal politics. We had a riding where there was no CCF candidate challenging any post and where there was one of the most active clubs in the city. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We did everything we could to get the club to

run a candidate, anyone, but failed. Following that we had quite a serious discussion around the possibility of getting one of the leftist elements in the club to go down and get nominated and to then approach the club for endorsement—we discussed the advisability of one of our comrades getting nominated and pulling this off but unfortunately none of the leftist elements wanted to run and none of our comrades were in a position to meet the property qualifications. I think that when next the municipal elections roll around and if we prove unable to get the club to run a candidate we should seriously consider running on our own and ~~pulling~~ seeking the nomination of the club.

What with all this very very positive work we are doing in North Vancouver we should be a cinch when the six months expires. Can't be far away now can it? Does it feel like the board is clear for our acceptance?

Nothing is changed in this field down here...except that I am now really in on the inside with my club. We ran a candidate in the municipal elections and last week had a meeting where our failure to elect him was the main subject of discussion. The leading activist of the club commenced it with an attempt to see what was wrong with our own little campaign I gave about a 15 minute talk along the line that we did ok—local candidates have to be carried by a city wide campaign for the city wide posts and here the leadership let us down, also our present sitting member of the Board of Control let us down by failing to fight labor's fight in the council accounting to a large extent for the overall decline in vote of 22 % and the decline in his vote of 37%. Called upon the club to move in on the daily struggles of the workers in the riding putting forward the health petition campaign as the type of thing we could do to keep the club before the ~~franklin~~ community and build the club. Got a terrific applause, and all subsequent discussion developed in that atmosphere. ~~On Saturday~~ On Saturday the club took the petition out on the street corner and 8 of us got about 800 signatures. The atmosphere in the club is very favorable to attracting trade unionists and working class elements—I phoned a couple who I had recruited last summer, they said they would be there but failed to turn up. The David Williams application is still hanging fire but we are going to ut the executive on the spot with it within the next week so that we will know where we stand.

By the way do all the comrades out there get the Militant? If they dont I wonder if it wouldn't be advisable to raise this matter at the next meeting. We are fortunate in having them store here and a bundle on the rack but I would suppose that everyone could afford to take out a 6 month sub at \$1.75. That material that they wrote up from the Toronto Star in the Dec 15 issue is dynamite for our CCF work on the Korean war.

Looking forward to seeing the report on the two meeting orientation discussion you had. I am thinking of writing up a general summary of the work of the past year and what is ahead. Incidentally if you happen to have the by-election results handy would you send them along. There has been nothing in the last two issues of the CCF NEWS. Received Hugh's clipping on the Stalinist candidate in Similakameen...they are really putting the blocks to themselves with regards to the CCF...and all the better too. Our club was scandalized by the fact that there was a small note in every poll that plumped for the LPP leader Stewart Smith (didn't vote for the CCFer Brand) in the board of control race and that there were the same number of ballots that were left blank on the aldermanic race—our local candidate. They are practically guaranteeing that the left in Canada will develop in toto within the CCF.

There are several other odds and ends but Murray will be sending you out the minutes anyway now—incidentally things are developing favorably with him. He was approached as a person having editorial experience with LC to put out the local paper in the shop where he works. Two issues have come out so far and have been warmly received—He is delegate to the important CCL Toronto labor council and will be a delegate to the Ontario CCL convention next month. Another one of us recently became treasurer of one of the largest locals in the city and head of the local PAC—our orientation is impelling us forward in these generally dull days. The bureaucracy is certainly developing in Canada but there are still lots of chinks.

warmest regards

Ross



December 17, 1952

Pablo - Fil Baker

Jim \_\_\_\_\_ ?

Dear Lillian;

Well, congratulations on the new arrival. I knew something important must have accounted for our not hearing from you last month but I had no idea that it was ~~what~~ a fortunate development of this character. You didn't need to slip in as an afterthought that you were a HARRIED new mother. Just to be a mother again is well and sufficient an excuse...reason. I hope that you pulling ~~them~~ out of it alright and that it hasn't been too big a strain for the old man. I am sure that you must be very busy—why your other child can't be two years yet. You never told us the sex—I hope you got what you want. But what with all these cases of "change of sex and the development of hormone treatments no matter.

We are expecting another one down here very shortly. Dave Williams and his wife decided that they wanted another child. Their other one is about 4 now and if they left it much longer it would be more of a strain. We have all been taking a course in baby raising down here. Katherine has been encouraged by all of us to bring here 8 or 9 month baby down to the gatherings—they have no baby sitter and she was becoming completely isolated...so we are learning how one tries to get a baby to stop crying. Many new theories have been developed as you can well imagine.

I am enclosing the receipt for the \$45 and I promise that the next letter will be typed with a new ribbon so that you can read it without damaging your eyes.

By the way Bill, how about dropping me a line. I hope you have been receiving all the literature that has been heading your way, bulletins, pamphlets etc. Are you getting sufficient copies? How is the Pablo pamphlet campaign coming along. We are doing not too badly here. We must have sold forty odd copies (aside from the bookstore) so far with one comrade selling about half of that. We are really covering our periphery who are very glad to see us for once without having the purpose of wringing a donation out of them. The comrades are covering everyone who we think might read the pamphlet, regardless of their present political usefulness or our thoughts on their probable future development. Joe at Moon Lake writes in that it has been a real eye-opener for him that he found upon going over it that he had in his isolation been getting off the beam which makes me think right now of proposing that we have an educational on it here shortly. We put the bulletins on China too very good use. We held a three session class on the first four that came out...the bulletin covering the discussion at the IEC arrived a week after the close of the class. This is even rather fortunate for we were all able to read what our leading theoreticians think of the very material that we went into such a detailed discussion on.

By the way there have been several books come at hand recently that are not only well worth reading but well worth owning. I seem to recall that you once suggested I send anything in this category along. If this is so drop me a line and I will send you a list. Probably you are broke ~~but~~ what with the expenses of the latest arrival but some well to do comrade could be convinced to buy them and they could be thus put to the use of the branch—?

Hope you have been getting a fair picture of how things are developing down here and elsewhere. In the last letter I overlooked reporting a few favorable trade union developments in Toronto. Murray has been making meteoric strides in his local (UAW). He was approached by the president who knew he had edited LC to take over the local paper. Two issues have come out and met with acclaim. He is now a delegate to the important Toronto CIL council and will be a delegate to the Ontario CCL convention. Another young comrade Jim has just been elected treasurer of the big packinghouse local and head of its PAC.



Our orientation is impelling us forward---besides the unions are peoples by mediocrities  
---they are certainly becoming more bureaucratized but there still seem to be lots of  
chinks.

warmest regards and congratulations from  
everyone.

Ross

18  
December 18, 1952

Britannia Beach

Dear Bill;

Hope you received the bound volume of LC alright. You should also be receiving the Militant and ET. I advanced the money from the bottom of our wpt, cash here and have a receipt for the \$3.25 at hand, am enclosing the copy from their plate. You had advanced \$1.50 for the Russian Revolution volume and if it is ok with you - am agreeable to cancelling this out with the bound volume--the bound volume is somewhat more but I can't find the circular letter where we set the price and besides its is among comrades and we wanted to get the bound volumes placed around. So that leaves us with you owing the N.O. \$3.25 for the subs plus recent internal bulletins and whatever you can do to help sustain the office here. I sure hope Santa Claus is good to you and you can cut us in.

I have written to Reg to put you into contact with G. in Squamish. To my knowledge I do not know this G., although sometime back in one of his informative letters Reg may have told xxx me something about him. At anyrate Reg seems to know everyone who is anyone in B.C. and I am sure he can work out some way to put G in contact with you. I am hoping that you can shortly make the trip for if the BC section is anything like the Ontario section of the CCF you might wait till hell freezes over before they contact you--of course a couple of elections coming up may well impel them to move a bit earlier. I myself am finding it rather hard to adapt myself to the slow and easy pace of the electoral machine that the CCF is still pretty much. We have one meeting a month in the "High Park Club and it is only occasional that anyone feels inspired to do much more--although we managed to hoist eight out of the doldrums to take the national health petition out onto the streets. Within about two hours we signed up somewhere in the neighborhood of 800. I am trying to inspire a few of the members to take the petition door to door so that we can get our foot into some good worker's homes and bring new proletarian blood into the club. Not that the club is bad--the atmosphere is quite leftist--the fellow who is the real leader is an outspoken Bevanite--it is just that it is in sort of a rut--a rut of routinism.

I am enclosing with this note three or four copies of the national health petition. It might prove to be a valuable connecting force for you with the Squamish club. It is no trouble to sign workers up on it...a most popular issue. It gives lots of opportunity for radical talk--depending on the reaction I have raised the idea of financing the national health program but cutting down on the arms budget. Should be easy to fill these chests on the job...Reg will be writing you, possibly sending you G's address, to whom you could forward the names---this would certainly inspire him into action and contacting you

As in Britannia the workers are pretty quiet here too--low settlements, poor meeting attendance etc. Despite this however we have made some very favorable gains here in Toronto. Murray has got a job in a UAW shop where the president of the local approached him fully knowing that he had edited Labor Challenge and had been RMP candidate for mayor to take over editing the local paper. He has put out two issues so far and everyone thinks it is the best paper they have ever had and the best of all local union papers around. He has been elected as a local delegate to the important CCL Toronto Labor Council and will probably be a delegate to the coming Ontario

CCL convention. We are planning on taking one of the top executive posts shortly. Another young comrade Jim has just been elected treasurer of the big packinghouse local here and director of all PAC work in the local. While it is true that the trade unions are becoming bureaucratized there appear to be lots of chicks left--- there is a great shortage of men with initiative and ability. Last night I was out to sell copies of the Pablo pamphlet THE COMING WORLD SHOWDOWN to friends and sympathizers and what should I find but that one of our best friends has just been elected vice-president of the new GM. Frigidaire plant outside Toronto, it now employs about 1,200 and will by next spring have double this number. So things are quiet but we are getting into strategic position.

Glad to hear that you will be dropping down to Vancouver to stay with Ruth and Reg...and may the coming year of struggles be a good one for our class

fraternally

Ross

Dowson

Jerry Dowson (the youngest brother, apolitical)  
Ruth Dowson (sister)

Dear Hugh;

This morning I put into the mail my present to you. I forgot to put a card in it so I am dropping you this line. It is two books and a nest of ash trays. I thought that a nest of ash trays would be a useful gift even for a person who expects to be on the move and doesn't want to be cluttered up with things of this world. I think that this nest will satisfy your admiration of good craftsmanship. They are quite nicely tooled, also very nicely coloured. They are very compact for packing or for finding a place in a space scarce table in a rooming house or bachelor apartment. As I write this it suddenly comes to mind that you may not be smoking now but they will be useful for your guests when they visit you. One very good feature of these trays is that a cigarette that has been left in them will never fall out and burn the table. I would imagine that *Insurrection*, one of the books, is a very good novel—it deals with some aspect of the ~~Irish~~ Irish struggle for independence around 1916. The other book on *Extemporaneous Speaking* while from the pen of a university professor who uses as examples I note speeches of Eisenhower, Taft, etc will none the less prove to be valuable. This is the kind of speaking that we are most called upon to make and I am sure that there are many valuable pointers for us in this book. Let me know what you think of them when you have had an opportunity to study them.

As the night letter from Lois states we received the cloisonné vases and in good order. They are quite beautiful. While I have seen more beautiful color combinations they are of a high order and in excellent condition. Ten dollars is certainly a very good buy—I am sure that Ruth will be overjoyed when she unwraps them. I gave them to Jerry to take home and wash up and polish and decoratively wrap. I suppose he will take them to Joyce's to turn them over when the kids unwrap their gifts. We are all going there for Christmas dinner. I hope that the night letter got there in time to stop you from buying Jerry a present. I never thought of making the switch of names so that you wouldn't have to get someone else a present.

Sorry to hear that you are still unemployed—what a fantastic economy out there in BC. Unemployment here is considerably less than last year although one comes across a ~~xxxxxxx~~ number of fellows asking for help. All the comrades are working except Paddy but he is now no. 2 man on the board so he should be OK any day. Barry has been having difficulty getting work but managed to get a part time job at the express office. Oh I forgot about Ed, he is not working but he appears to not be looking for work. It will be hard for you to get back into harness again after such a long period of unemployment.

Forgot to thank you for the clippings....particularly for the clipping on the Mine Mill opposition to the CCF in Similkameen. This clipping is now in the hands of Neil Thibault, head of Mine Mill in Sudbury. We have an old timer CCF coming in here occasionally ~~thru~~ whom the Mine Mill leadership are trying to work an electoral deal with the national CCF leadership. I would gather that the Stalinists want to black mail Coldwell and co by proposing to run a candidate in the coming federal elections in the Sudbury area. At anyrate this old timer who is much impressed by Mine Mill and who correctly opposes the CCF leadership's expulsion of Carlin went to Ottawa on their behalf. Coldwell apparently gave him the works about Mine Mill but tossed the matter to the Ontario leadership. I gave this old fellow the clipping to ~~xxxxx~~ educate him about these guys and to thrust under Thibault's nose...who knows it might even shapen Thibault up...I met him here in front once and he struck me as not being a Stalinist in any hard sense. The comrades all perused the cartoon book & some of them are not bad at all....and then I turned it over to Dick as a little token from the West, from you. Haven't had a chance to touch the MacDonald book. I am spending whatever spare reading time I get to read various internal bulletins that have been

flooding in.

Incidentally while I think of it, I gather ~~that~~ from a letter that I received recently from Ruth that you showed Reg and Ruth my last letter to you. We have no big objection to this but generally speaking I don't think that it is a good idea that letters to one person should be more or less indiscriminately passed around. I don't usually say anything to one comrade that I don't want known to another but on occasion one does do this. I know that Ruth and Reg have this rather careless habit about correspondence...they leave it lying around the house to be picked up by anyone, I suppose before reading it a comrade will ask permission and it is not easy to refuse permission to a comrade..usually there is nothing but sometimes there is. For instance I wrote a letter to Reg about you when you were on the point of arrival in Vancouver and I gather from Barry that you read the letter. I am sure that this must have been somewhat embarrassing for you, it is for me. Not that I said things in that letter which I think I should not have said but I want Reg to see that you found your place in the Vancouver situation as quickly and with least difficulty as possible. I think this is a responsibility of mine. To give the leading comrade in a situation a picture of the ability and possibilities of anyone who is coming into the area to work. Leading comrades have the responsibility to see that comrades do not get jobs thrust upon them completely out of line of their ability and then again that they are given jobs that develop abilities already known and those latent. There are no categories of membership in a bolshevik party but among the leaders of such a movement there have to be certain confidences if this leadership is to really function as a leadership, assigning, of course throughout the party, tasks, handing out responsibilities, developing in a concentrated way this or that comrade.

I have said nothing about this to Ruth or Reg lately but I have noticed ~~nothing~~ from my contact with various Vancouver comrades that there is no understanding or maybe I should say agreement on the concept that I develop above. For instance Dick was quite indignant one day that I asked him if he would leave the office when we were having a PC meeting...he seriously developed the idea later in a discussion with me that he did not believe that there could be any business thing taken up in the PC that was not the business of any member of the party. Now I know that often in a personal letter there is something that is obviously of some interest to other comrades. Rather than letting others have the letter in toto I think it best that the receiver use his judgment to relate to anyone what he thinks is of interest or importance to them. Personal letters are just that..personal. Party correspondence is just what it says it is --for all members or any designated bodies of the party. I know that when you become a Bolsheviki that to some extent to give up your individuality and to ~~many~~ a considerable extent your personality becomes public property. You don't so much give up your individuality..it develops a higher form of expression through identification in all its fundamental aspects with the class and the party. But with Bolsheviks there is still such a thing as personal relations that develop on different planes with different persons...I see here that I am getting somewhat tangled up...there has been considerable interruption from the ~~various~~ various comrades coming around this Saturday afternoon. But I hope we are agreed that these letters I write are to you and that I am depending on your discretion when it comes to circulating their contents.

Glad to hear that <sup>Berland</sup> Boland, Lafortune etc are coming around. It should not be hard to get them to get into the CCF--the demands won't be hard on them, they can even should they wish act in an undisciplined way, and they would be still valuable ~~figures~~ to us, as a cover. Have been going around to see some of our old timers with the Pablo pamphlet. You will be interested to know that Jack Kane is now ~~general~~ vice-president of the Frigidaire UAW local. The fellow he and Siren put in as president has turned out to be pretty much a dud and Jack will probably take over the presidency shortly. This is going to be a big local when the works gets under the one new roof at Scarboro...about 2,000 anyway. Murray is going to get into contact with Jack and see what we can work out together in the UAW.

I have noted the make of tape recorder you have..probably it would be better for you to let me know what size and kind of tapes it uses..so that if we do get a machine

we can trade tapes back and forth...but from what you say about using Farrell's tapes it would appear that ~~the~~ tapes are standardized.

I hear that Murray has written you a letter just last night so I think I will close off and save my steam for another letter later on.

warmest regards

Ross